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MARTIAL LAW DURING THE REVOLUTION

THE interesting article on this subject (Mag. Am. History, vol. i, p. 538), by Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. N. Lieber, of the Corps of Judge-Advocates, U. S. A., indicates how little was known about it by Judges of Courts of Record when the great Military Commission case of *ex parte* Milligan came up for consideration in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The proclamation¹ of martial law by the British Lieutenant-General Thomas Gage, Governor of Massachusetts, at Boston, 12th June, 1775, was in reality but an announcement of the fact that war existed, because the affairs of Lexington and Concord had already occurred, Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been taken, and the British were then actually besieged in Boston and engaged in constant skirmishes with organized regiments of American Minute men and Militia. One of the reasons ascribed by General Gage for the exercise of Martial Law was that "during the continuance of the Rebellion in Massachusetts justice could not be administered by the Common Law of the land, the course whereof had for a long time past been violently impeded and wholly interrupted."

In his answer,² 3d May, 1775, to a letter from Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, General Gage used the following language: "You ask whether it will not be consistent with my duty to suspend the operations of war on my part? I have commenced no operations of war but defensive; such you cannot wish me to suspend while I am surrounded by an armed country, who have already begun, and threaten further to prosecute, an offensive war, and are now violently depriving me, the King's troops and many others of the King's subjects under my immediate protection, of all the conveniences and necessities of life with which the country abounds."

General Gage here disclaimed having taken the offensive, although the Continental Congress by resolution, dated Philadelphia, 9th June,

1775, soon after declared that "General Gage hath actually levied war, and is carrying on hostilities against his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects of that Colony." Lord Dartmouth in an official communication³ to General Gage, dated London, 1st July, 1775, said that "from the moment the blow was struck" (Lexington and Concord), "and the town of Boston invested by the Rebels, there was no longer any reason to doubt the intention of the people of Massachusetts Bay to commit themselves in open rebellion. The other three New England Provinces have taken the same part, and in fact all America (Quebec, Nova Scotia and the Floridas excepted) is in arms against Great Britain, and the people involved in the guilt of levying a war against the King in every sense of the expression. In this situation every effort must be made, both by sea and land, to subdue the Rebellion."

Here was an admission of belligerency, which made it necessary that the laws and usages of war should be applied in dealing with the armed forces of the Americans, and in the treatment of captured prisoners. Forgetting this fact, Lieutenant-General Gage confined the American officers who had been captured by his forces in a common jail appropriated for felons, but he soon received a remonstrance from General Washington, dated Army Headquarters, Cambridge, 11th August, 1775. A correspondence ensued, during which the latter, in retaliation and pending adjustment, ordered the British officers held as prisoners of war by the Americans to be confined in Northampton jail.⁴

All doubts as to the fact that the thirteen United Colonies of America were belligerents and at war, in an international sense, with Great Britain were soon set at rest by the proclamation⁵ of George III. of the 23d August, 1775, which acknowledged them to be in open rebellion and levying war, and by the Act of Parliament of 19th December in the same year, by which American vessels captured on the high seas became good prize. In this we see an analogy to President Lincoln's proclamation of blockade of the Southern ports in 1861, which was, *ipso facto*, a recognition of the belligerency of the Confederate Government.

Governor Gage's proclamation of Martial Law in 1775 had been preceded by one of like tenor from Governor Guy Carleton of the Province of Quebec on the 9th June, 1775.⁶ In this the latter announced the prevalence of a rebellion in the English colonies, particularly in some of the neighboring ones, and that an armed force had lately made incursions, carrying away troops, stores and a vessel, and were then actually invading the Province with arms in a hostile manner.

The Earl of Dunmore's later proclamation⁷ of Martial Law in Virginia on the 7th November, 1775, from on board the ship *William*, stated, among other things, that a body of armed men had fired on a British armed ship; that an army had been formed and was then on its march to attack His Majesty's troops, and that therefore, in order to defeat such treasonable purposes and bring such traitors and their abettors to justice, and that the peace and good order of the colony might again be restored, which the ordinary course of the Civil law was unable to effect, he declared his purpose to execute martial law.

The well-contested affair at "Great Bridge," near Norfolk, Va., on the 9th of the following month, between the Americans and British, showed that war had actually broken out in the Old Dominion.⁸ It is an interesting fact that, although Congress in the Declaration of Independence charged the British Government with having waged war against the Americans, nevertheless these several proclamations by the Royal Governors received no notice in that instrument, for the very good reason that as war existed in an international sense the very presence of the hostile forces sanctioned the exercise of martial law, without even the necessity of prior proclamation.

Much confusion has existed in the minds of writers and jurists as to what is "Martial Law." In the popular view the expression has usually, though wrongfully, conveyed the idea of the exercise of all kinds of oppression and violence by an irresponsible military force. Such conduct would, however, not only be unjust, but an abuse of power necessarily leading to protest and retaliation. There is a notable instance of this in the case of Captain Joshua Huddy of the New Jersey State Artillery, who was captured by the enemy 2d April, 1782, and carried into New York City as a prisoner of war. Subsequently, and for no legitimate cause, he was taken to Middletown Heights, N. J., and there hung by a party of Tories, 12th April, 1782.⁹ This gross violation of the law of nations caused General Washington to protest, and demand of Sir Henry Clinton the condign punishment of all concerned. (Army Headquarters, Newburgh, 21st April, 1782.) The British Commander-in-Chief accordingly caused an investigation to be had, but the result being partial and unsatisfactory, General Washington proceeded to retaliate from among the British captives who were prisoners of war in his hands. The "lot" fell to Captain Charles Asgill of the Guards, who, after close confinement, only escaped execution by the near approach of peace and the strenuous efforts of his mother through the polite mediation of Count de Vergennes, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. (13 No-

vember, 1782.) Congress had, by resolution of 29th April, 1782, authorized retaliation for conduct "so contrary to the laws of nations and of war," but as we have seen, General Washington, upon notification of Captain Huddy's murder, at once acted without waiting for any such authority.

A still earlier instance of retaliation was where Congress, in order to compel the British in their treatment of Major-General Charles Lee, U. S. A., "to regard the Law of Nations," directed by resolution of 20th February, 1777, that Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, 71st Foot, and five Hessian field officers, prisoners of war, should be placed in close custody. This treatment was relaxed when Lee was allowed greater liberty.

Technically speaking "Martial Law," or the laws and usages of war, may be defined to be that branch of the law of nations applicable to belligerent operations on land, just as "prize" law constitutes another branch applicable to certain belligerent operations on the sea.

Martial law constitutes a well-defined code or rule of action for the military forces of a Government waging war, and as war is theoretically if not always practically waged by civilized nations to prevent apprehended injury, or to obtain redress for wrong, it sanctions the killing or disabling by certain recognized, legitimate means of the combatant and those associated with him in actual hostility, and the destruction or appropriation of private property interfering with or required for the belligerent operations. Thus, for example, we find General Washington in 1778 (22d April), from Army Headquarters, Valley Forge, directing by General Orders the Forage Master General "to appropriate a sufficient number of wheat fields within the vicinity of the camp to serve as forage grounds."

Martial law also brings under its jurisdiction two classes of offenses for punishment by the military authorities irrespective of the status of the individual, namely—*first*, those solely known and committable in consequence of a state of war, such as being a spy, guerilla marauder, war-rebel or war-traitor, violator of flag of truce, &c., and *second*, those crimes of civil or statutory cognizance which may have been committed within the lines of actual belligerent operations, when the local courts are closed or prevented by some very good reason under the law of nations from taking jurisdiction of the case and trying the offender.

At the beginning of the Revolution the laws and usages of war sanctioned summary punishment without formal trial, when the offender had been caught in actual commission of the offense. Thus when Cap-

tain Nathan Hale, of the 19th Regiment Continental Infantry (Conn.), was by mere command of General Sir William Howe, and without trial, hanged as a spy, 22d September, 1776, General Washington could not rightfully complain of such action, however cruel, as an infraction of the law of nations as then recognized. It remained for the United States to set an example of moderation in this respect, which has since been generally imitated by Continental powers.

The manuscript order books of the American Army during the Revolutionary war are full of instances of the trials, with due solemnity and regularity, by courts-martial or military commissions, as the case might be, of spies and other offenders against the laws and usages of war. Thus, for example, General Washington, from Army Headquarters, Valley Forge, 3d June, 1778, issued the following General Orders: * *

"Thomas Shanks, on full conviction of his being a spy in the service of the enemy, *before a Board of General Officers*, held yesterday by order of the Commander-in-Chief, is adjudged worthy of death. He is, therefore, to be hanged to-morrow morning at guard mounting at some convenient place near the grand parade."

The Board of commissioned officers here referred to had equivalent signification to a "Military Commission," which is an international tribunal, like a "prize court," to administer a particular branch of international law, and composed of commissioned officers of the army.

It was not until 1806 that general courts-martial *as such* were given by Congress jurisdiction over the international offence of being a "spy," and to-day Section 1343 United States Revised Statutes declares that persons charged with such crime shall be triable either by a general court-martial or military commission. When, therefore, a general court-martial takes cognizance of such offense, it has to be guided in its decision by the laws and usages of war.

The case of Major John André, Adjutant-General of the British Army, is another good illustration of trial under this Code.

General Washington assembled a Board of fourteen general officers with the Judge Advocate General of the Army to investigate the charges. André's admission upon arraignment of what could have been easily proven avoided the necessity of oral evidence, and on the report of the Board, approved by the Commander-in-Chief, "that he ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that agreeably to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death," his execution followed as a necessary consequence. (General Orders Army Headquarters, Orange Town, 1 October, 1780.)

Much needless sympathy has been expressed as to his fate, doubtless due to his youth, talents and pleasing demeanor. Many even of the rank and file of the regular Continental soldiers commiserated his unfortunate situation. It should, however, not be forgotten that he enjoyed from his office the complete confidence of Sir Henry Clinton, and was possibly for that very reason intrusted with the difficult and dangerous service of arranging matters with Major-General Arnold for the treacherous surrender or capture of West Point and its dependencies. That André knew he was putting himself in unusual peril is manifest from his letter from New York of 7th September, 1780, to Colonel Elisha Sheldon, 2d Regiment United States Light Dragoons, who commanded the American cavalry outpost in Westchester County, and the subsequent injunctions of Sir Henry Clinton to him, André, not to quit his uniform.¹⁰ Had success followed his efforts, honors, fame, promotion, and possible pecuniary recompense would have been his. The baseness of the projected arrangement which he undertook to effect appears measurably greater from a study of the papers found upon him¹¹ by which it appears that in addition to the knowledge Sir Henry Clinton was to receive of the weakest points of defense, a mode of approach was indicated by which the brave garrison could have been most successfully attacked and slaughtered or overcome.

Although Sir Henry Clinton was justified under the laws and usages of war in *his* efforts to obtain so important a point as West Point with least loss to his own command, such justification does not extend to the spy, caught in the act, to whom a different rule is applied. André's undertaking became doubly disgraceful from the fact that he landed from the sloop-of-war Vulture, according to Lieutenant-General James Robertson and other British officers,¹² "under the sanction of a flag of truce," and having come within the American lines in the night of 21st September, 1780, in a private and secret manner, he there bargained for a species of treachery against which no vigilance on the part of the garrison in the performance of duty would have availed. Sir Henry Clinton's act was a *governmental* one and not punishable. Major André's was an *individual* one, which could not lawfully have been commanded or required of him. In quitting the Vulture in the manner indicated and in lurking in and about the American lines in order to obtain information and in disguising himself to succeed, he became a spy, and liable to the prescribed penalty. His request to General Washington to be shot instead of hung was one, therefore, which could not be granted, because, in a military sense, such change in

the mode of execution would have been a mitigation of the sentence affixed by International Law to the odious offense of which he had been convicted.

The same rule is applicable to the International crime of piracy. No nation can lawfully commute or mitigate the sentence of a convicted pirate to imprisonment, for example, for a term of years. Lord Mahon¹³ and some others have sought to justify André's conduct, but the decision in his case is now generally accepted as correct under the law of nations.

The resolutions¹⁴ of the Continental Congress, quoted by Colonel Lieber, of 30th June and 7th November, 1775; 27th December, 1776; 8th October, 1777; 1st January, 27th February and 29th December, 1778, were merely statutory announcements of what was sanctioned by the laws and usages of war.

The United States, then struggling for national existence, had to contend not only against invasions from abroad but against civil war. No State of the original thirteen escaped becoming the theatre of hostilities at some time or other during that period. New York was, for example, the scene of belligerent operations, not only on its northern and southern but also on its western frontiers throughout the Revolution.

As courts-martial in the American service have ever been courts of special and limited jurisdiction for the trial of persons actually in the military service or voluntarily serving therewith for offenses specifically designated by statute, authority has been rarely given to them over offenses under the laws and usages of war, which may have been committed by inhabitants of the country or by persons in the enemy's service. The resolution of the Continental Congress of 7th November, 1775, exceptionally authorized *courts-martial* to try *all* persons charged with holding a treacherous correspondence with or giving intelligence to the enemy, and to sentence to capital punishment.

The present 46th Article of War for the American army as re-enacted by Congress in 1874, and to be found in the United States Revised Statutes, substantially repeats this resolution. Under it many persons, during the Revolution, were convicted and hanged in the Northern and Middle Departments of which New York formed a part. Thus, for example, we find that Brigadier-General Alexander McDougall, United States Army, appointed a General Court-Martial of thirteen members, with Colonel Philip Cortland, 2d Regiment New York Continental Infantry, as President, and Captain Benjamin Walker, 4th Regiment New York Continental Infantry, as Judge Advocate, to sit at Peekskill. On the 11th April, 1777, one Simon Mabee came before

it charged with being employed by the enemy for the purpose of enlisting men into their service and with being a spy. He was convicted and duly executed. Two days later John Williams and others were tried before the same court for "holding a treacherous correspondence with the enemy, and enlisting men into their service." Several of these were found guilty and hanged.¹⁵

The Convention of the State of New York, by the several resolutions of 16th July, 1776, and 1st, 17th and 21st April, 1777, undertook to empower General Courts-Martial to "try all persons taken without the enemy's lines, owing allegiance to the State of New York and accused of *treason* in adhering to the King of Great Britain at open war with the United States, and aiding and abetting the unnatural war against them, or with enlisting as a soldier in the King's service *while owing allegiance to and deriving protection from the laws of the State.*"

Treason *per se* being a crime of civil cognizance cannot in these United States constitutionally come under the jurisdiction of a military court; nevertheless the same act which would be treason might also be a violation of the known laws and usages of war affecting the safety of the army, such as relieving the enemy with ammunition, or giving intelligence to him from the American lines, and thus render the offender amenable to trial by Military Commission.¹⁶

A number of general courts-martial, so called, both regular and militia, were convened in 1777 by Major-General Philip Schuyler and Brigadier-Generals George Clinton (soon afterwards Governor) and Alexander McDougall, U. S. A., and by Brigadier-General Abraham Ten Broeck, of the militia; the latter having left the New York Convention, of which he had been President, to go on active military duty. Although thus designated as courts-martial, they were, as to many of the cases tried, in point of fact Military Commissions to investigate offenses under the laws and usages of war, and were often composed of as many as twenty members. They could not always take the oath to "duly administer justice according to the rules and articles of war," because those rules did not except in exceptional instances provide for any such offenses. They therefore took a modified oath, suitable to the circumstances, to well and truly try and determine according to the laws and usages of war.

Of this description of court was one of eighteen members, held at Fort Montgomery, Wednesday, 30th April, 1777, by Brigadier-General George Clinton's orders, and of which Colonel Lewis Dubois, 5th Regiment New York Continental Infantry, was President, and Captain Stephen Lush, Paymaster of same regiment, Judge Advocate.

This tribunal tried one William McGinnis and a number of other men and sentenced them to death for "levying war against the State of New York, being enlisted soldiers in the service of the King of Great Britain, and of enlisting soldiers for his service whilst thus owing allegiance to the State of New York."¹⁷

Apparently these charges presented the civil crime of treason cognizable only in the civil courts of criminal jurisdiction, but upon looking at the evidence adduced it appears that the accused were found to have committed these overt and hostile acts within the actual military lines of the Americans, and hence were also amenable for a violation of the laws and usages of war. Others were regularly tried by the same Court under the Articles of War for holding correspondence with and giving intelligence to the enemy, voluntarily giving them aid and comfort, and were sentenced to be hung.

At another General Court-Martial, so called, of twenty officers of the militia in the United States service, which convened at Albany on the 21st May, 1777, and of which Colonel Stephen J. Schuyler, 6th Regiment Infantry, of Albany County, was President, and Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Varick, United States Army, Judge Advocate, one John Clint and a number of other persons were separately tried for the foregoing described offenses, and were sentenced capitally, or to undergo branding, fine and imprisonment, according to the nature and degree of the offense.¹⁸

Before still another so-called General Court-Martial of regulars, held the same year at Peekskill by order of Brigadier-General McDougall, and of which Colonel Henry B. Livingston, 4th Regiment New York Continental Infantry, was President and Captain Benjamin Walker, same regiment, Judge Advocate, were separately brought one John Likely and others, charged with "*treason* against the State of New York in adhering to the King of Great Britain, at open war with the United American States, aiding and abetting the unnatural war against them, declaring he had and would do it, comforting the enemies of these States and acting as a spy and agent of the enemy."¹⁹ The evidence adduced shows that the prisoners had violated the laws and usages of war in the manner alleged, for which they were duly sentenced by the Court, acting as a Military Commission.

The Court, however, saw very clearly that while the Articles of War enacted by Congress 20th September, 1776, explicitly gave them jurisdiction over *some* cases falling under the Law of Nations, such as where the prisoner was charged with "relieving the enemy with money,

victuals or ammunition, or knowingly harboring or protecting an enemy, or holding correspondence with or giving intelligence to the enemy, either directly or indirectly," nevertheless the offense of being a "guerilla-marauder" or "spy" under International Law and of "treason" under municipal law were not within the jurisdiction of a general court-martial as a statutory court. The Court accordingly drew up a respectful remonstrance to the convening authority, in which, after reciting the resolutions of the Convention of the State of New York of 16 July, 1776, and 1st, 17th and 21st April, 1777, by which jurisdiction was sought to be conferred over the felonious, civil or State crime of treason; it proceeded to say that "doubts have arisen within this Court * * * concerning the propriety of our determining the fate of our fellow-creatures by virtue of the above mentioned resolutions," * * * for the reasons * * * "that State prisoners should and ought to be tried by a court of this State, where they should have all the privileges of the law as freemen, and that which was once so much boasted of to be the constitution of Englishmen, viz: trial by jurymen of the vicinity and counsel, and further we fear whilst we are struggling for the sacred name of liberty, we are establishing the fatal tendency to despotism.

"That Martial-Law [*meaning military statute law,*] prescribes us an obligation by which we bind ourselves in the most solemn manner strictly to adhere to the Articles of War which the above mentioned resolutions are not a part of nor approved by the Continental Congress as an addition to the said Articles.

"Then, of necessity, we are obliged to create a new form of oath, as was done in the case of those prisoners heretofore mentioned, the propriety of which might be in question, for although we are empowered by the Convention to try such offenders by a set of men who have an undoubted right to invest judicial powers, yet they have given us nothing but resolutions, and have pointed out crimes without giving us instructions or prescribing us any other rules but the Articles of War, which we must entirely lay aside in such cases. * * * From this above mentioned inconsistency of trial this Court see the necessity of applying to your Honor for leave to be relieved from trying State prisoners any more, unless that the name Court-Martial should be changed to that of Judicature, the prisoners allowed an Advocate²⁰ to plead in their behalf, a jury, and the members of the Court sworn by the rules of Civil Law, &c."

Thus did a Court of regular officers early in the history of the nation show its respect for constituted authority and for the great fund-

amental rights of Englishmen in settled or discovered colonies, for which they were then contending, not the least of which were the rights which every civilian was claimed to possess when charged with a Common Law crime: of presentment or indictment by a grand jury, assistance of counsel for his defence, and trial by an impartial jury of peers of the vicinage by due process of law.

It is deserving remark that the same respect for the Constituted Civil authorities in matters of civil cognizance which was then evinced by the officers of that Court is to-day entertained by the officers of the American Army, and is not only traditional in the service but inculcated as an imperative duty.

Not long afterward, on the 22d July, 1777, another regular General Court-Martial, or more properly speaking, "Military Commission," sat at Peekskill by order of Major-General Israel Putnam, United States Army, Colonel William Shepard, 4th Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry, being the President, and Philip Pell, Jr., Esq., Deputy Judge Advocate. This Court tried one Edmund Palmer, a citizen, upon the charges *first*, of plundering, robbing and carrying off the cattle, goods, &c., of well affected inhabitants, and *second*, with being a spy from the enemy, lurking about the American lines and found within them.²¹ In his defense the prisoner showed he was a Lieutenant of Volunteers in the British service, but being duly convicted of the offenses charged he was accordingly executed. His trial gave rise to the laconic and curt historical reply of General Putnam to Major-General William Tryon, which was as follows:

HEADQUARTERS, 7th August, 1777.

"*Sir*:—Edmund Palmer, an officer in the enemy's service, was taken as a spy lurking within our lines; he has been tried as a spy, condemned as a spy, and shall be executed as a spy, and the flag is ordered to depart immediately.

Yours, &c.,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

P. S. afternoon—he is hanged."

In approving the proceedings of the Military Commission in this case and in directing the sentence to be executed, General Putnam, from his Headquarters, Peekskill, 27th July, 1777, made on the record the following remarks; " * * * To preserve and perpetuate the felicities of society, to support and vindicate the rights of Civil Government against foreign force and invasion, the military power was originally erected, and for this purpose the American Armies now wave their banners in the field and myself am in arms. The military I consider as subservient to and

attendant upon the Civil: invested with competent powers for its own executive government and to preserve its own existence against all open and secret enemies, of the latter denomination are all spies, and thereby answer the end of its institution, by guarding its own safety, is enabled to defend the community against hostile invaders. These considerations, with the example of all ages, induce me to believe that spies are the most detestable of all enemies and ought to be speedily executed, though not without trial and legal conviction. Of this character is Palmer, the unhappy culprit, and for this, and not for robbery or burglary, which are crimes cognizable by the Civil power, do I sentence him, who by joining himself to the enemy and accepting an appointment from them, forfeited all right to the protection and immunities of the Government of which he was a subject. * * *

The language of General Putnam, as here given, although somewhat involved and ungrammatical, nevertheless expresses the idea prevalent then and now in the American service, that the regular army is but an executive force subordinate to the civil authority, to be employed in times of peace, when there may be resistance to constituted authority, in protecting and aiding such authority in the execution of the laws and to be used in time of war in an international sense, under the Chief Magistrate as Commander-in-Chief, in defense either of national existence, integrity or honor. While it is true, as stated by General Putnam, that robbery and burglary are crimes cognizable ordinarily by the civil power, yet there are times during war when the civil courts within the actual sphere of belligerent operations are closed or necessarily prevented from taking jurisdiction. In such cases the laws of war require the military authorities, usually through the agency of military commissions, to investigate and punish, in order to protect peaceable inhabitants.

In Lieutenant Palmer's case, therefore, even if he had not been a spy, his other offenses had been committed in the "neutral ground," where the authority of the State was powerless.

There were many such instances in the Revolution. Thus before a General Court-Martial, so-called (Military Commission), of which Colonel Philip Cortland, 2d Regiment New York Continental Infantry, was President, was brought Private David Hall, of Colonel W. Stewart's regiment of Light Infantry, charged with plundering an inhabitant of money and plate. The court found him guilty, and sentenced him to death. General Washington in approving the sentence ordered it to be executed the same afternoon, at half-past four o'clock. (General Orders, Army Headquarters, Steenrapie, 12 September, 1780.)

A few days later, before a Division General Court-Martial, so-called, assembled by Major-General Nathaniel Greene's orders, of which Lieutenant-Colonel Calvin Smith, 13th Regiment Massachusetts Continental Infantry, was President, Private Peter Nooney and three other soldiers in the same regiment were tried for "robbery." They were severally found guilty, and in accordance with their sentences duly executed, two-thirds of the court concurring in the imposition of such penalty.²² (Gen. Orders, Hdqrs., Orange Town, 27 September, 1780.)

To the American Army is largely due the credit of formulating and reducing to definite rules the Code of Martial Law—a code which, as we have seen, received considerable development during the Revolution. The service of the allied French army under General Washington brought to its notice the humane and improved manner in which military authority was exercised by the Americans under this Code, and the knowledge thus acquired undoubtedly contributed towards the ameliorations exhibited in subsequent European wars.

The Continental Congress did what it could in this direction, as, for example, when it instructed General Washington by resolution of 16th October, 1782, "to accede to the proposition of General Sir Guy Carleton for the mutual liberation of all clergymen, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, and to prevent their being hereafter considered as prisoners of war."

During the war with Mexico, after the American "Army of Occupation," under Brevet Brigadier-General Zachary Taylor, had crossed the Rio Grande in 1846, that officer was annoyed and disconcerted by deliberate assassinations of his soldiers in Matamoras, Monterey and other places. An examination of the "Rules and Articles of War," enacted by Congress for the government of the army in times of peace and war, showed that no jurisdiction was given to courts-martial over such offenses. It would, of course, have been sheer folly to have sent such cases before local Mexican courts, when it was plain that the acts mentioned were merely the outgrowth of national hostility, embittered by war. The General-in-Chief, Major-General Winfield Scott, however, clearly saw what the law of nations authorized in such cases, and accordingly, so soon as he landed at Tampico, with another army on a different line of operations, he published his celebrated and now rare order on "martial law," which was again referred to by him at Vera Cruz, and republished from the National Palace, in the City of Mexico, after the American Army had obtained triumphant possession. (Gen. Orders,

No. 20, Army Hdqrs., Tampico, 19 Feb., 1847; Gen. Orders No. 87, Army Hdqrs., Vera Cruz, 1 April, 1847; Gen. Orders No. 287, Army Hdqrs., Mexico, 17 Sept., 1847.)

It is said that General Scott was better pleased with that order than with any one of his victories in the field. In it, after mentioning many felonious crimes against persons and property for which the "rules and articles of war" for the government of the army provided no punishment, he proceeded to say that "the good of the service, the honor of the United States and the interests of humanity imperiously demand that every crime * * * should be severely punished," and that a supplemental code was needed, namely, martial law, which all armies in hostile countries are forced to adopt, not only for their own safety, but for the protection of the unoffending inhabitants and their property about the theatres of military operations against injuries contrary to the laws of war. He then proceeded to state how and what offenses should be brought before military commissions.

General Scott had entered the army in 1808, when many old officers of the Revolution were still in service. From them he probably acquired that knowledge of martial law, as executed during the earlier war, of which he subsequently made such good use.

In 1863 the Code, as promulgated by Major-General Scott, formed the basis of a more extended statement by the late Professor Francis Lieber, LL. D. It was prepared at request of the then Secretary of War (Stanton), revised by a board of officers, of which the late Major-General Ethan A. Hitchcock was President, and was approved by the President of the United States. (Gen. Orders No. 100, War Dept., Adjutant-General's Office, 24 April, 1863.)

Subsequent text writers on the Law of Nations, both American and Continental, have in several instances republished this Code as being an apparently correct general exposition of the law as applicable to belligerent operations on land.

ASA BIRD GARDNER

¹ Am. Ach., vol. ii, 4th series, p. 968. ² *Ibid.*, p. 483.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1517. ⁴ Am. Arch., vol. iii, 4th series, pp. 245-247, 328.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 240. ⁶ Am. Arch., vol. ii, 4th series, p. 940.

⁷ Am. Arch., vol. iii, 4th series, p. 1385. ⁸ Am. Arch., vol. iv, 4th series, p. 224.

⁹ Official Register Officers and Men of New Jersey in Rev. War, p. 395; Sparks' Writings of Washington, vol. viii, pp. 265, 301, 311, 352; *Ibid.*, vol. ix, pp. 169, 221.

¹⁰ In his letter to Colonel Sheldon André said he would endeavor to obtain permission to go out *with a flag* to Dobb's Ferry to meet Mr. G. [meaning Arnold.] In order to deceive the Colonel,

he at same time declared that the object of the meeting was of so private a nature *that the public on neither side could be injured by it*, and further, that if there was any possibility of his being detained, he would "rather risk that than neglect the business in question, or *assume a mysterious character to carry on an innocent affair*," and get to the American lines "*by stealth*." (Proceedings in André's Case, published by order of Congress, p. 9.) *Ibid.*, p. 14, Appendix.

¹¹ Original captured papers, State Library, Albany; Boynton's Hist. West Point, p. 110.

¹² Lieut.-Gen. James Robertson, from Greyhound Schooner Flag of Truce, 2d October, 1780, p. 18, Proceedings in André's Case ante. *Ibid.*, pp. 11 and 12.

¹³ Mahon's Hist. of England, vol. vii, p. 70.

¹⁴ See Journal Continental Congress. ¹⁵ Miscel. pap. 37; 383, 387, Secretary of State's Office, Albany, N. Y.; Calendar N. Y. Hist. Mss., vol. ii, p. 83.

¹⁶ The present 45th Article of War for the government of the American Army declares that "*Whosoever* relieves the enemy with money, victuals or ammunition, or knowingly harbors or protects an enemy, shall suffer death or such other punishment as a Court-Martial may direct." (U. S. Revised Stat., Sec. 1342.)

¹⁷ Calendar N. Y. Hist. Mss., vol. ii, p. 120. ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 179. ²⁰ Before the adoption of the VI Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prisoners on trial before a General Court-Martial were not (following the British practice) entitled of right to the assistance of Counsel. ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

²² According to the present 58th Article of War a General Court-Martial may, under such article, in time of war, insurrection or rebellion take cognizance of the felonious crimes of robbery, larceny, murder and many others, when committed by persons in the military service, and may award sentence which shall not be less than that prescribed by the laws of the State or territory where the offense was committed.

CUBAN ANTIQUITIES—THE CANEYS OF THE DEAD

The word *caney* belongs to the idiom of the Indians of the great Antilles, and consequently to that which was spoken by the natives of Cuba, to whom the venerable Bishop Las Casas gave the name of *Siboneyes*. It means a house of conical construction, and in a larger sense applies in the eastern and other parts of the "Queen of the Antilles" to things and objects of delicate form. The *caney*s are elevations of earth in the form of truncated cones. The river *caney*s are circular mounds which from a bird's-eye view display curves somewhat analagous, and they are even to be found on the borders of the sea which bears that name, such as that which served for the primitive commerce of Sanctus Spiritus in the Mar del Sur. From the term "*Caney* of the dead" a great number of corpses is not to be inferred, nor yet a cemetery nor anything resembling the tumuli or constructions on the surface of the earth, which are called in the United States mounds and in Spanish *terraplens*. Whether intended or not for places of burial, a *caney* is an artificial elevation of ground which is believed to be the work of man. It is not the Mexican *Teocalli*, for the *good* Indians, the *peaceful* and domesticated inhabitants born on the soil, never got as far as that; but it is one of the saddest remains that Cuba offers of the passage of the ages which have preceded us in history.

The memoirs of the Patriotic Society of Havana had already been published in 1844, when the periodicals of Puerto Principe announced the existence of *fossil human skeletons*, which was of small importance towards the general information concerning the country at that period. There are still in Cuba a few deposits of human bones, not only in *caney*s, but also in numerous caves. In them were mingled the remains of wild negroes, of native Indians and of *guanajos*, who, driven by despair at the prospect of the toil to which they were condemned perished there by pestilence or famine. The negroes, especially the "*minas*," and in our time the Chinese, have turned to suicide as the supreme remedy for the sufferings of slavery. The notices published in Camaguéy were not a novelty. The existence of human fossils was already known, because the word "fossil," is itself an equivalent for "hidden," or "buried," according to its etymology: *fossilis*. Scientific men like Don Andres del Rio applied the system of Berzelio to all mineralogy under the name of *Orictonocia*, or "knowledge of fossils." No one would have supposed that

geology, which by its most distinguished champions, Cuvier and Lyell, had opposed the theory of *Pre-Adamites*, would abandon its most determined position, which recognized in man the last being which appeared in creation in the layers of the formations of the earth. But it is well to define these discoveries of fossil skeletons. Every one has heard in Cuba, Saint Domingo and Porto Rico of deposits of bones and bodies, and of the Caneys of the dead, which tradition connects with the Indians.

"It is many years," say the writers of these papers in Camaguéy (*Memoirs of the Society*, p. 45, No. 102, 1844) "since we heard of those which were found in this jurisdiction." The discovery itself was described by Bernabé Mola, who received his information from Don Francisco Antonio de Agramonte, both of whom were interested as compatriots in the study and progress of the country. The picture they draw of the ground resembles that which was made of the place in which the skeletons were found in the island of Guadaloupe, of which I shall make mention later. "The spot where what we shall call the cemetery is found," say the *Memoirs* and the article quoted, in which repose the skeletons described, is on the southern coast, near the bay of Santa Maria Caimba,* and an estuary, *which has received from it the name of the Creek of the Caneys, because upon it there are to be seen scattered several of these sepulchres which are of a conical form, quite perpendicular*, and presenting when seen in profile the opening of an extremely obtuse angle. By compass the spot mentioned is west-south-west (from Puerto Principe), and to be more precise, a quarter due west — about sixteen provincial or Cuban leagues (of five thousand yards) in a straight line." The spot of the find is characterized as low and the coast as overflowed, particularly that called the Vertientes (bubble wells,) over which the sea has made its invasion in the lapse of time. To these circumstances he ascribes the discovery of the skeletons aforesaid, which we doubt, as it is only at low tide that the mentioned cemetery is left dry. There were discovered incrustated in the arena various skeletons, apparently of both sexes and of children, for the bones of these were found placed between the first, which seemed to be those of women. The high stature of the skeletons leads us to suppose that they were of an Indian race now entirely extinct."

Nor yet is the supposition new that such remains existed in the Antilles even in this very form. On the shores of Guadaloupe there had before been found human skeletons incrustated in a hard dark rock. Zimmerman speaks of them, denying their authenticity as true fossils, and Hitchcock (*Elementary Geology*, p. 100, 1841) also mentions them. At

first sight the discovery of human fossils, in the true meaning of the word, did not appear to be quite established, but from its appearance in alluvial matter, and from the objects of recent date that surrounded it, it can not be assigned to a period further back than some hundreds of years. The doubt entertained by Zimmerman is confirmed, and it has even been explained by the battle fought near where they were found, between the *Caribs* and *Galibis* in 1710.

The skeletons did not indicate an epoch more remote than the Mosaic deluge. Geology served as a support to the Bible, and philology sought in it its arguments. Johnes two years later wrote his "Philological proofs of the original unity and recent origin of man (1846)." His work quotes Cuvier and Lyell, and confirms the "Theory of the Earth" of the first, and the Geology of the second.

The wise *Schentzer* published in the last century a copious series of fossil remains to which he gave the name of *Fossils of the Deluge* in his splendid "*Fisica Sacrada*" and other special works on the same subject. He deemed it a very strange circumstance that human remains were so rare, and that he had only found two vertebrae (which had become black) and a large part of a skeleton. I have under my eye the print, excellent in its execution and design, and engraved as were all his works with a perfection which this century has not much surpassed (Vol. I, plate XLIX). This illustrious physician, this wise professor, believed that this was a *petrification* of nearly the whole of the spine and part of a human skull; but Cuvier demonstrated that it was a *salamander*! Even a portion of the liver the learned doctor believed to be petrified. The man of the tertiary period over whose remains the pious writer made such pathetic declamations was reduced to a great lizard. In 1844 the only pre-Adamites were such in a prophetic sense or upon theoretic principles; just as Voltaire and Barthelemy anticipated Nieburgh and Mommsen in the theory of the fabulous nature of Roman history. Zimmerman announced paleontologic discoveries *à priori*. The skeletons of Guadalupe, two in number, were carried to the museums of Europe; this was known in Cuba in 1844. The Camagüean periodicals noticed the fact, and even added "that the manner of the sepulchre authorized the conjecture of the existence among them (the race extinguished by the Spaniards) of some barbarous practices, such as had been noticed in other places."

But these Indian bones and other reminders of the past were not found in the *caneys* only but in caves. My friend, Don Andres Stanislas, met with them in Porto Rico, and many times spoke to me of them;

they exist in the upper islands. The United States are full of geological data from which science has discovered old errors. Charles Lyell, the most distinguished champion of the *recent origin* of man has admitted that one skeleton and other surrounding testimonies which were found in the delta of the Mississippi had overset his old opinions; and Dr. Dowler has estimated that it was *fifty thousand years old*. Griffin Lee makes the period longer. *Mound Folliet* was a gigantic *caneey* in form until it was levelled. (Le Hon. *L'Homme fossile*, p. 211, Priest's American Antiquities p. 196, fig. 1 of the plates.)

The existence in Cuba of *fossil man* has also been demonstrated by the learned naturalist Don Felipe Poey upon evidence collected by the indefatigable enthusiastic and estimable explorer of Cuba, Don Miguel Rodriguez Ferrer.

The existence of pre-historic man in America proves that the antiquity of its early population is greater than that of which is called the old world, and that Cuba was part of the primitive world. Our subject is not yet exhausted.

ANTONIO BACHILLER

* Caimba is the name for the holes in rocks or trees in which deposits of water are found. It seems to me an indigenous word, and I write it with an (s), although the Spanish sailors call it *Cacimba*. It is a word of general use in Brazil in the same sense but limited to the ground only. The Portugese write it with an *c*. The same occurs in *Cibo*, *Ciba*, *Cibao*, &c.

MARQUIS DE FLEURY

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

Teisseidre, Marquis de Fleury (François-Louis), the hero of Stony Point, son of François de Fleury and Marguerite Domadieu, his wife, was born the 28th of August, 1749, at St. Hippolyte, in Languedoc.

La Fayette says in his Memoirs that M. de Fleury belonged to the regiment of Gâtinais, but in a document in the archives of the French War Department it is stated that he entered the regiment of Rouergue as volunteer (15 May, 1768), and served in it during the campaign of Corsica, rising gradually to the rank of first lieutenant.

In 1776 he sailed for America with Trouson du Coudray, having received a leave of absence and the rank of captain of engineers from his Government. On his arrival he joined the American army as volunteer, and accompanied it in this capacity during a part of the campaign of 1777. He received the rank of captain for his gallant conduct at the battle of Biscatagua.² He was then sent to Philadelphia, coming theatre of the war, to map its suburbs, sound the Delaware and fortify Billingsport. He rejoined the army with the rank of Major of Brigade when the enemy landed at Hith.

His brave and gallant conduct at the Brandywine (11 September, 1777), where he remained on the battlefield after the rout of his brigade, and had his horse killed under him, attracted the notice and admiration of Washington, who drew the attention of Congress to him. The Quartermaster-General received orders to present M. de Fleury with a horse, "*in token of the high esteem in which his merit was held by Congress.*"³ He served as Major of the Brigade of Dragoons at the battle of Germantown, was wounded in the leg, took several prisoners, and had the horse given to him by Congress killed under him. He was then sent as Engineer-in-Chief to Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island, which was threatened by the English squadron and army. There he sustained a siege of six weeks, during which the *August* (64 guns) and the *Merlin* (22) were blown up by the fire of the fort. The commandant and the garrison of 600 men were relieved three times, but M. de Fleury steadily refused to quit his post. He was severely wounded on the 16th of October, and the same night the fort was evacuated. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel, and received a letter of thanks for his able and valiant conduct from the President of Congress.

During the winter of 1778 he formed the bold project to cross the ice and set fire to the English squadron. The Delaware not being entirely frozen that winter, he invented "batteaux mines," which were to be worked by the repulsion of fusees; but whilst he was working on them he was ordered to the Army of the North. The expedition into Canada did not take place. On his return he was made Inspector, and was charged with instructing and disciplining the troops.

At the opening of the campaign of 1778 he was the second in command of a picked corps (which comprised the body guard of the General) of 600 men, 2 pieces of artillery and 50 cavalry. He led it into action at the battle of Monmouth. Washington sent him to meet the Comte d'Estaing on the latter's arrival in America, and he accompanied him to Rhode Island, which was to be attacked. His entreaties prevailed on the Admiral to raise the useless siege of Newport and to retire to the north of the island. His company repulsed the enemy and covered the retreat.⁶ The Comte d'Estaing wrote to General Washington: "Allow me to recommend M. de Fleury especially to your good graces. General Sullivan will tell you all about his conduct at Rhode Island. He is an excellent officer and a useful Frenchman. I hope to serve again with him. He is a man made to unite private individuals in the same way that our nations are united."⁷

Mr. de Fleury commanded a regiment of light cavalry when the campaign of 1779 opened. He was the first to scale the ramparts of Stony Point, and he carried off the English flag with his own hand. For this brilliant deed Congress awarded him a medal, which was fastened to a band cut from the flag he had so gallantly captured. He was the only Frenchman to whom such an honor was accorded. This medal is in the collection given by Mr. Vattemare to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, and he describes it as follows: "A general in Roman costume, standing on a pile of ruins, holding in one hand a drawn sword and in the other a flag, on which he is tramping. *Legend*: VIRTUTIS ET AUDACIÆ MONUM ET PRAEMUM—*Exergue*. D. DE FLEURY EQUITI GALLO PRIMO SUPRA MUROS, RESPUB. AMERIC. (Duvivier fecit). Reverse—A fortress built on a rock and besieged by a squadron. *Legend*: AGGERES, PALUDES, HOSTES VICTI—*Exergue*. STONY-POINT. Jul. mdccclxxix."

The President of Congress wrote to him: "Congress hopes that your own country will show its appreciation of your merit."⁷ And the French Minister wrote "that he flattered himself that the Court would give in the person of M. de Fleury a proof to America of the satisfaction with which it has seen that a French officer had been so useful in

her service." * When M. de la Luzerne arrived General Washington begged him to give an account of M. de Fleury's gallant conduct to the French Court; and M. de la Luzerne wrote to the Council about it.

At the end of the campaign M. de Fleury asked for and obtained a leave of absence of nine months, and General Washington wrote to Congress on M. de Fleury's departure that he hoped for the return of an officer who had rendered such important services.

M. de Fleury returned to France. Whilst there he addressed a memoir to the Court, wherein he gave an account of his services, ending as follows: "M. de Fleury having thus by his services risen from the rank of simple soldier to that of Lieutenant-Colonel, honored by the good will of the Nation and the Army, by the esteem of Congress, by the confidence of his General, ventures to solicit some sign of the approbation of his Prince and of the Minister under whose auspices he passed into the service of the allies of France. Although convinced that he owes his success more to his good fortune than to his talents, and that his zeal alone was able to compensate for his inability, he ventures to hope that his country will not disdain his services, and that that happiness of every Frenchman, the return to a loved land, will not be for him a sorrow and a disgrace. P. S. M. de Fleury has drawn some plans and written some memoirs which have received the approbation of M. Girard. He asks leave to present them to the Minister."

M. de Fleury received the rank of Chevalier de Saint Louis, 5th December, 1781, and a pension of 400 francs was awarded to him for his services at the siege and capture of Yorktown. He returned to America in the "Aigle" with the Prince de Broglie and several other officers, and rejoined the army; but finding that the war was practically over, and that his services were no longer necessary, he went to South America to make some explorations. On his return to France he was made Colonel of a regiment at Pondichéry, 1784, and died in his native land with the rank of "Maréchal-de-Camp."

ELISE WILLING BALCH

NOTE.—This sketch is translated from the second and unpublished part of "*Les Français en Amérique*," by the late Thomas Balch, Esq., of Philadelphia.

¹ *Les Français en Amérique*, pp. 71-72. ² ³ ⁴ Mémoire of M. de Fleury in Archives of French War Department. ⁵ Letter of M. d'Estaing. ⁶ Mémoire of M. de Fleury in the Archives of the French War Department. ⁷ Mémoire of M. de Fleury in the Archives of the French War Department.

HENRY WHITE AND HIS FAMILY

Tradition assigns to the family of White a Welsh origin. The earliest record of it, however, locates it at Denham, near Uxbridge, Buckinghamshire, England. The archives of the Herald's Office contain a grant of arms to the family in 1584. They are thus blazoned: Shield, azure, three roses argent, two above and one below. Crest, a lion's head couped, argent.

The American branch of the family settled in the province of Maryland at quite an early period; the father of Henry White, the subject of this sketch, who was a Colonel in the British army, joined his uncle in that colony, emigrating from England in 1712.

Henry White, according to the family account, was born in America but received his education in England. He later returned to this country and established himself as a merchant in New York, and his kinsmen in Maryland dying out he fell heir to their property. He first appears on the busy scene of colonial trade in a petition dated May 8, 1756, for leave to ship bread to South Carolina for the use of the navy. He was then acting as agent of Samuel Bowman, Jr., and Jo. Yates, of Charleston. The war with France, after a hollow truce of several years, had just broken out afresh and the authorities had imposed restrictions on the export even of home products to neighboring colonies. The trade in English goods between them was never permitted. The next year he was engaged in the importation of the usual varieties of European goods from London and Bristol, his store being in King street.

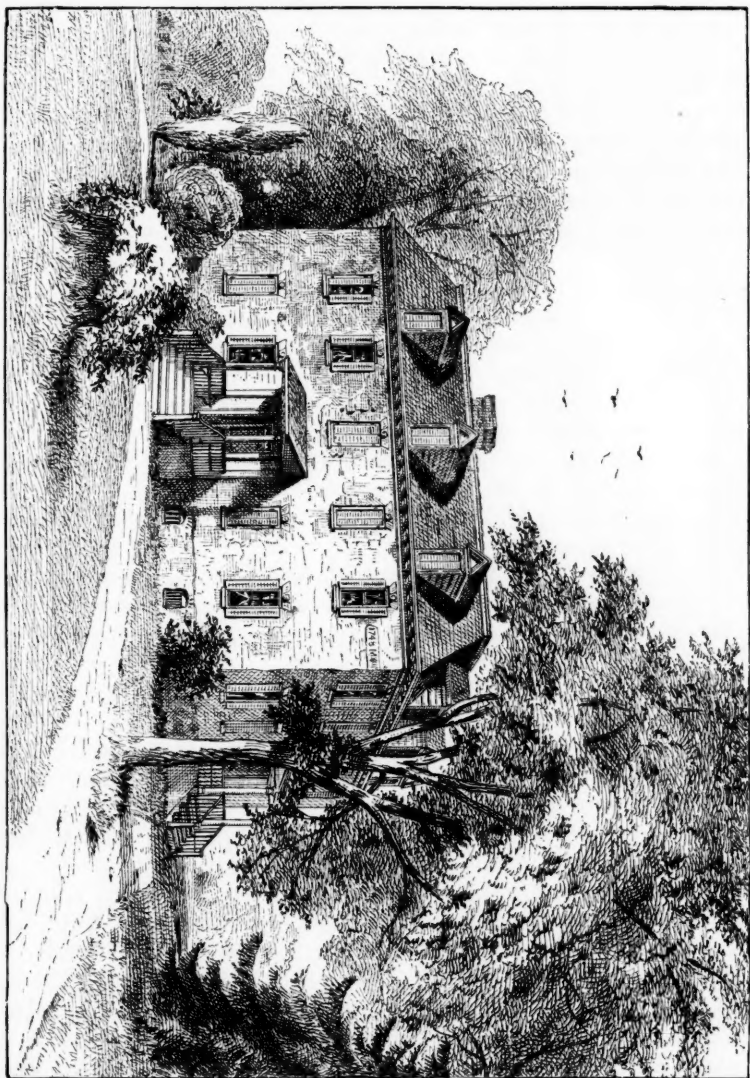
On the 13th May, 1761, he married Eve Van Cortlandt, daughter of Frederick and granddaughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, the founder of the younger branch of that family. The Van Cortlandt family was one of the wealthiest and most important of the colony, and the branch with which young White connected himself had largely added to its wealth and influence by intermarriage with that of Philipse, whose extensive manor of Philipsborough, in Westchester County, extended from the Harlem River on the south nearly to the south line of the manor of Cortlandt on the north, and from the Hudson on the west to the Bronx on the east. He is now found extending his commercial operations and the owner of the *Moro*, a sloop whose heavy armament of ten guns indicates that she was employed in privateering, the favorite business of the time. This alliance with the Van Cortlandts secured the fortune of the young

merchant. In 1769 Mr. de Lancey declining to take a seat at the Council Board, Mr. White entered the field as an aspirant for the position, one of the highest in the gift of the Crown. His application seems to have had the support and recommendation of Governor Moore, and in March of the same year he received his commission and was sworn of the Council, a post which he retained until the close of English rule in the colony. His wealth and importance increasing, he changed his place of business to Cruger's wharf, which was for a time the favorite location for the shipping merchants, and later bought for his residence the large house situated in Queen (now Pearl) street between the Fly Market, which was at the foot of the present Maiden Lane, and the Coffee House, which stood on the corner of Wall and what is now Water street (the exact site faced the foot of Cedar street). This house had been the residence of Abraham de Peyster, the Treasurer of the colony, and was one of the most important buildings in the city. In 1772 he became President of the Chamber of Commerce, being the fourth to reach that highest honor in this commercial city.

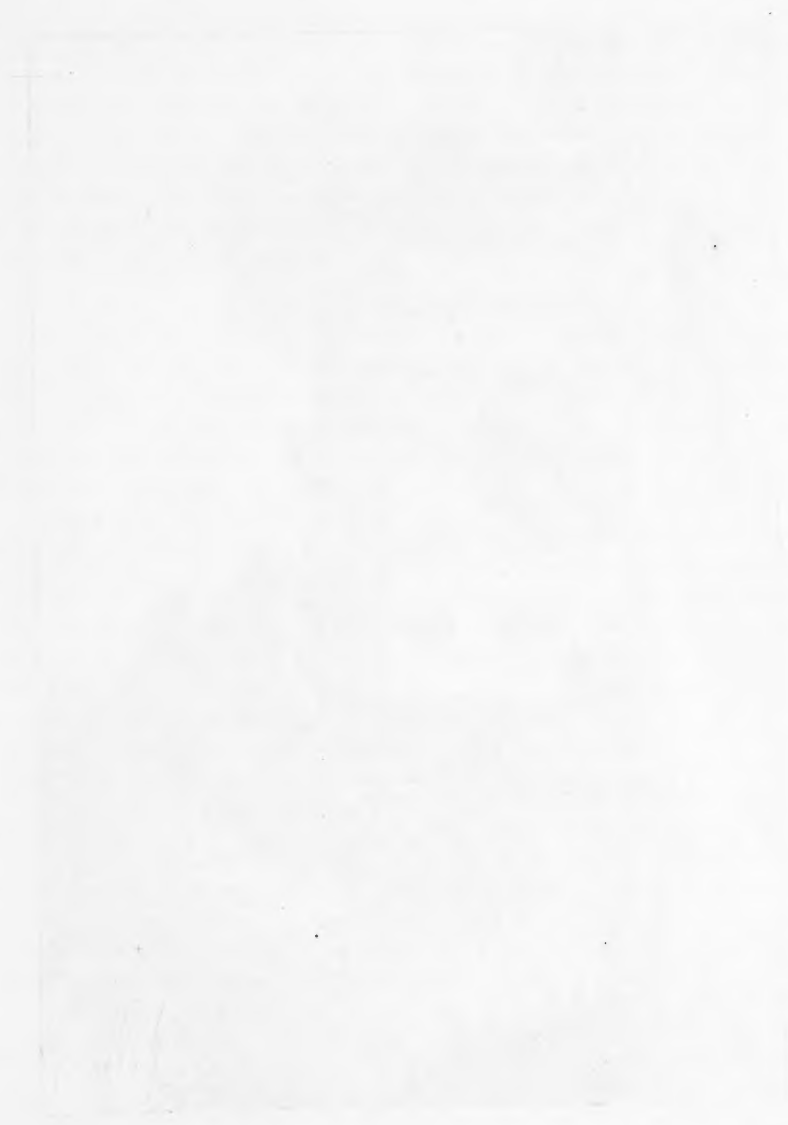
To Henry White as one of the first merchants of the colony and a member of his Majesty's Council, the East India Company consigned the ship *Nancy* with the cargo of tea intended for New York. She left London at the same time as the vessels bound for Boston, Philadelphia and Charleston, but being blown off the coast by contrary winds, put into Antigua, and did not reach the offing until the 18th April, months after the destruction of the tea which arrived by the Boston vessels, the unlading and storage of that for Charleston and the return of that for Philadelphia. The New York vessel shared no better fortune. Mr. White was forced by the pressure of opinion to decline to receive the objectionable consignment, and the Committee of Vigilance, appointed in open town meeting to prevent its landing, conducted the captain of the vessel to Mr. White's house and compelled him to engage to make all possible dispatch to leave the city and return to England with his cargo.

Notwithstanding his well known English sympathies Mr. White does not appear to have had any personal difficulty with the patriots. It is probable that he was prudent enough to keep himself out of harm's way. There is no account of his having suffered any annoyance. He was in the city in the summer of 1775 when a letter of Governor Martin, of North Carolina requesting the shipment of a marquëe, or field tent, and a Royal Standard, was intercepted and laid before the Committee of Safety. In 1776, when the Council broke up, it appears from the letters of Governor





CORTLANDT HOUSE—NEAR KINGSBRIDGE



Tryon that he was in England. In the fall of the same year he returned to the city with the second division of the Hessian troops, and from his influence with the citizens was of great service to Governor Tryon in securing the peace of the population, discontented and chafing under the restriction of military rules. The next year he was first of a committee of four to receive donations for the equipment of provincial regiments for the King's service, and remained in the city during the war, acting as the agent of the Home Government in various ways, chiefly in the sale of captured vessels and cargoes and the distribution of prize money among the British men-of-war.

On the 9th October, 1780, according to the record in the Surrogate's office, he appeared before the Surrogate to prove the will of the unfortunate André, when he declared that he was well acquainted with the testator's handwriting. He left the city and returned to England prior to the evacuation of New York in the fall of 1783.

Mr. White did not long survive the war. He died in Golden Square, London, on the 23d day of December, 1786, and was buried in the church-yard of St. James, Westminster, in Picadilly. An obituary notice in the "Gentleman's Magazine" said of him that "in public life he united the dignity of office with the respectability and integrity of a British merchant; and during the late troubles in America exhibited a zeal and attachment to Government that was at once exemplary and appropriate." Like many others, Mr. White paid the penalty of his loyalty.

Mr. White was attainted of treason to the State of New York, and his estates were forfeited by the Act of 1779. His home in Queen street, at the time in the occupation of George Clinton, the first Governor of the State, was sold in May, 1786. Fortunately the Constitution of the State adopted at Kingston contained a wise and liberal provision that no attainder should work "corruption of blood." But the fortune of Mr. White, independent of the estates of his wife, was ample. His influence was also great in official circles. Of his sons by his wife Eve Van Cortlandt, one, Henry, remained in America. William Tryon, another, named after his old friend, the Governor of New York, was a Captain in the East India Company's service.

Henry White, the eldest son, married his first cousin, Anne, daughter of Augustus Van Cortlandt. Their eldest son, Augustus, assumed the name of Van Cortlandt, and inherited a large estate at Yonkers, under his grandfather's will. Dying without issue, he devised to his brother Henry, who in turn assumed the name of Van Cortlandt,

a life interest in this estate, and, failing issue to him, a life estate to his nephew Augustus Van Cortlandt Bibby, and remainder to the eldest son him surviving. This nephew was a son of his sister Augusta, who had married Dr. Edward N. Bibby, whose father, Captain Thomas Bibby, an officer on the Staff of General Fraser, had secured an exchange after the Convention at Saratoga, and established himself in New York. Henry Van Cortlandt did not long enjoy the property; he died without issue the year of his inheritance, when it passed into the hands of Mr. Augustus Van Cortlandt (Bibby). With the old estate, and the name maintained by careful provision, also passed "Cortlandt House," near Kingsbridge, the residence of the family, and one of the most interesting relics of the colonial period. The history of this house, a view of which as it appears to-day accompanies this sketch, is full of romantic interest.

The old mansion of Jacobus Van Cortlandt was destroyed by fire about 1748, when the present, a large stone dwelling-house, was erected by Frederick Van Cortlandt. Built on a plateau on the eastern slope of the river chain of hills, it commands an extensive interior view. The long and smiling vale of Yonkers stretches beneath it, and to the southward the placid landscape ends in the Fordham heights. The ground in front was artificially terraced and ornamented after the old French manner of gardening, with large box trees and hedges, with here and there small sheets of water and diminutive fountains.

The interior is not less quaint and interesting. The windows are old-fashioned and the dispositions of the upper stories odd. An air of old-time, which would have charmed the heart of Hawthorne, still pervades the whole building, which bears its date in iron figures on its gables. In the library there are several portraits, one of the most interesting of which is of a Mr. Badcock, a friend of Mr. White, the son of the subject of this sketch. Another is the celebrated portrait of Henry White by John Singleton Copley, from which the engraving which accompanies this sketch is taken. The attitude is fine and the coloring wonderful in its fidelity. The warm flesh tints bear unerring witness to a reasonable indulgence in "generous wine that maketh glad the heart of man" and heightens nature's hues.

The Philipse Manor was all historic ground. When the Provincial Convention adjourned in August, 1776, from Harlem to Fishkill, the Committee of Safety, which held daily sessions in the interim, stopped here and held an important meeting on the Manor. When New York was in the hands of the British the Hessian Jagers had a picket guard on the ground and the officers were garrisoned in the house.

Washington dined at Cortlandt House in 1781, when he made his famous feint upon the British lines, and many a skirmish took place between the patriots and De Lancey's loyal Refugee Corps, the French, and the Hessians, and here occurred the bitter struggle between the Stockbridge Indians, who had joined Washington, and the Queen's Rangers, under Colonel Simcoe.

There are other details of the old house that deserve a passing notice. To the beauty of its outward surroundings and inward adornments there was added a famous cellar. The régime was that usual in the good old days of Madeira and Port when annual provision was made by cask, the old, and half old, being refilled in the order of their succession. This was the earlier fashion. Later, demijohns of famous vintages, under the name of their importers or the vessel which brought them, took the place of this primæval practice. Then the well-stored vaults held Blackburn, March and Benson, Page, Convent, White and other well-known importations of Madeira, in rich profusion; and the "White" Port held undisputed rank. Nor must the "Resurrection" Madeira be forgotten, so called because buried during the Revolution and dug up at its close. Here the uncovering of the brilliant mahogany, and the toast of "Absent friends and Sweethearts," was the signal for a merry bout, where convivial songs added to the charm of the occasion and flinching was not allowed. We have heard of a deserter who, seeking to escape "the glass too much," broke from the festive hall, took the porch steps at a bound, and followed down the lane by the whole company in hot pursuit, and to the cry of view-halloo "with one brave bound cleared the gate," and a five-barred gate at that. "Old times are changed, old manners gone;" but stranger and friend alike still meet from the erect and stately host the same elegant cordiality, and it will be a marvel indeed if he do not find that Cortland House and the White vintages alike deserve their fame.

Two of the Sons of Henry White entered the British service: the elder, John Chambers White, was commissioned in the navy, rose to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the White, and was made Knight Commander of the Bath, June 29, 1841. Frederick Van Cortlandt White received the commission of Ensign 19 Feb., 1781; was made Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards (the Grenadier Guards) 1 Jan., 1805, and Major-General 25 July, 1810. On the army registers his name appears as Frederic C. and sometimes as Frederic Charles, but this latter is an error. Both these officers lived in London, and are now dead. Of his daughters, Ann was married to Doctor afterwards Sir John

McNamara Hayes, Bart., of Golden Square, London. They all resided in England, while Margaret, married to Peter Jay Munro of Westchester, and Frances to Dr. Archibald Bruce, lived and died in New York.

Some account of Eve Van Cortlandt, the wife of Henry White and the mother of these children, may interest the reader. She is well remembered by many of our older citizens. She was born, as entered in her father's family bible, 22 May, 1736, and died on the 19 August, 1836, in the one hundred and first year of her age, having more than completed a century of existence. She left the United States with her husband at the close of the revolution, and on her last return from Europe in 1804, occupied the house at No. 11 Broadway, her own by inheritance, till her death. This house, which stood for one hundred and forty-years, has been erroneously supposed by some of our local historians to have been the coffee-house kept by Burns in the Stamp Act period. It was not a public house until after the death of Mrs. White, when it was for some years known as the Atlantic Garden. Its site is now the station of the Elevated Railroad. Mrs. White was buried in the family vault, on Vault Hill, near Cortlandt House, on the 22d of August, 1836.

Her long life embraced a period full of remarkable events. Born early in the reign of George II, she lived till after the coronation of Queen Victoria. As a child she heard of the final defeat of the Stuart pretender at Culloden, and among her friends were officers who had fought on that bloody field. The foundation of the British empire in India, the seven years' war and the capture of Canada, the American revolution and the Independence of the United States, were the stirring incidents of her middle age. The young prince Louis XV was on the throne when she was born; the French revolution had swept away the monarchy, the star of Napoleon had risen and dazed the world with its glory and set in the darkness of exile, and the restoration had given way to constitutional monarchy under Louis Phillipe, before she closed her career. The packets from England had brought to her ears the news of the war of the Austrian Succession; the thrilling story of Maria Theresa, the partition of Poland, the birth of the Prussian Kingdom, the wonderful reign of the great Catharine. When she first saw the light New York was a provincial town and had not crept beyond the Commons, the present City Hall Park; they closed upon an imperial city, the commercial metropolis of a nation. In 1736 Clarke ruled the colony by Royal authority, in 1836 Marcy was governor of the Empire State, and General Jackson, the hero of a second war with Great Britain, was the eighth

President of the Great Republic. To few is it allotted to witness an historic panorama such as this, with its moving procession of courtiers, warriors, statesmen and sages. It is marvellous to think that she had heard from living lips the story of the passage of New York from its Dutch dynasty to the English rule, and that she lived to relate it to the present generation.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

NOTE.—For many of the facts and biographical details the Editor takes pleasure in acknowledging his obligations to Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, of this city, a maternally great-grandson of Mr. and Mrs. White.

KEESE-ANA

To the August number of the "Magazine of American History" Mr. Evert A. Duyckinck contributed an appreciative and entertaining paper entitled "Keese-ana;" being his recollections of my father, the late John Keese. It was my hope that the publication of the article in question might awaken further "recollections" among those who knew him in the old times, for, as Mr. Duyckinck feelingly says, "Keese was a man who should not pass out of memory with the recollections of his many friends of the present fleeting generation;" and it is equally a matter of regret with his family, as with Mr. Duyckinck, that his name is not included in any American biographical dictionary. Surely a man whose life's aim was the diffusion of knowledge, whose name was identified with many important literary undertakings, and whose lame as an auctioneer was beyond doubt unique—deserves a record more enduring than memory.

Very few, if any, indeed, however, of my father's literary friends, to whom the preparation of a memoir would be an easy and not unwelcome task, are now living. Morris, Willis, Halleck, Hoffman, Tuckerman, the brothers Clark, George P. Putnam, and many others—all are gone. All save poor Hoffman, whose mental darkness is worse than death itself. How well I remember him! He and Tuckerman were frequent visitors at our house, and my brother and myself were often tutored by them in the recitation of their poems. Mr. Hoffman's "Sparkling and Bright" was my earliest committal to memory, and I can vividly recall my rather spasmodic interpretation of Mr. Tuckerman's "Apollo Belvedere." Then it was Mr. Hoffman's delight to equip us with shovel and tongs—which last article my father declared would do on a pinch—and put us through a military drill, ending with a stern peremptory "Dismiss!"—the obeying of which order was the one sole success of our performance. Mr. Hoffman was soldier, hunter, wit, poet, all in one; and as I remember him one of the most charming of men. He had a fund of stories of adventure, and drew towards him the young with a magic equal to that of the Piper of Hamelin. Too juvenile then to understand or value the company so often assembled at my father's, I comprehend now all that it meant, and fancy what an intellectual commerce it must have been.

In a note received from Mr. Duyckinck, after the publication of his paper, he wrote me that his personal knowledge of my father was limited to the auction room, and was kind enough to say that with the

material possibly at my command an additional chapter of Recollections might be given that would happily supplement his, and allow the employment of new matter. To accomplish this, and as a loving duty, the present writer begs the indulgence of his readers.

It was during the period of the literary gatherings above referred to that the various published works cited by Mr. Duyckinck—to which list may be added "The Forest Legendary," a collection of Metrical Tales of the North American Woods—were edited by my father. They were so many evidences of good taste, literary discrimination, and a thoughtful consideration of the claims of genius and of refined culture; but it is not needful to dwell upon them save in the case of the "Poets of America," which deserves more than a passing glance.

This compilation was really the first repository that could lay claim to being distinctly representative of native poetry, presented in an attractive form. "American Poetry," says the editor's preface, "has hitherto been little more than a happy accident, and seems to have arisen in spite of the practical tendencies of our country and the prosaic character of our time. * * * It has usually come before the public eye in small, detached portions, with slight pretention to permanence in the form of its publication, and has been rescued from speedy oblivion only by its own beauty and power. The genius of the artist and the liberality of the publisher, have done far too little towards presenting in an attractive shape, and with due advantages, the finest productions of our poets. We have left our pearls unstrung. We have made few attempts to heighten the brilliancy of our gems by the beauty of their setting."

No one will doubt the truth of these words who will consider for a moment how the popular taste for a few years past has come to regard illustrations as an almost indispensable adjunct to collections of poetry, and that publishers are as truly alive to the importance of pictorial embellishment as they are to that of the text it adorns. It was, then, prophetic forecast to discern the needed element. The reading public was quick to recognize the delicate and graceful creations of the artist's pencil in the Poets of America, and the work in two series passed through several editions, universally commended by the press and admired by all lovers of poetry. Whether my father would have become an author—that is, a writer of books—as Mr. Duyckinck hints, had he not been attached to the selling of them, I can hardly offer an opinion. Author he certainly was in more ways than one; for if all the jests, epigrams, impromptu verses, that were his, and all the sonnets, valentines, dedicatory poems, &c., written for friends for years and years should be printed,

they would make a portly volume. But how useless to speculate when we know that he found his field in the auction room—a fresh wood and pasture new indeed; but in which he made himself at home so quickly and so perfectly that it was easy to see that he was to the manner born. Whatever display of wit he may have made in literary coteries, or the social circle, or at festive celebrations, died with the occasion that gave it birth, or was faintly recorded in memory, to fade as soon; but from his pulpit in the sales-room he spoke to the public at large, and his witticisms passed from lip to lip, were jotted down and carried home and crept into the papers, and were thus circulated and became a living record. And so John Keese, Auctioneer, is the objective point of my sketch.

The high compliment of being the “wittiest book auctioneer of his day in New York,” is paid him by Mr. Duyckinck, and it is equally true that he “left no successor in his peculiar vein.” That “peculiar vein” was an illuminating wit that played electrically upon every subject it touched; flashed light into nooks and corners; invested dull common-places with a hue of glory, and turned unmeaning or ambiguous title-pages into sudden and felicitous revelations. Add to this a wide knowledge of books and authors, an exceptional memory, a keen perception of every vantage ground, and above all, a celerity in retort that was surprising—and you have an intellectual equipment rarely found in the possession of an auctioneer.

It is no wonder that people flocked to the evening sales; and I have heard many say that to go there was as good as a play; so that the late William E. Burton, to whom in after years my father became warmly attached, whose theatre was then in Chambers street, regarded the auction room of Cooley & Keese as no contemptible rival. And here I am reminded of an experience related by that famous comedian, which, although a tale of his own crushing discomfiture, was told with great relish. The story has never been in print, and is really too good to be lost.

It annoyed Mr. Burton very much when in the tag of the play certain of the audience began the bustle of departure, and he determined to embrace the first opportunity to administer a public rebuke. He had not long to wait. One evening towards the close of the piece, the characters standing in order for the epilogue, an auditor arose in the gallery and commenced buttoning his coat. Mr. Burton left his place and stepped to the footlights. “Excuse me, sir, but the play is not yet finished, and you disturb the audience. Have the goodness to sit down.”

The stranger, without pausing in his preparation, promptly replied: "Can't help it. I've listened to your infernal trash long enough, and now I'm going." "And what did you say, Burton?" exclaimed the late Henry Placide, who was one of the amused group. "Harry," said Burton with an air of complete humiliation, "I couldn't say a d—d word!" My father was quite right in thinking that the actor received on that occasion emphatically a curtain lecture.

In glancing over old papers I am surprised to find so many tributes to my father's powers of entertainment. It would seem that in his day his qualities were deemed really phenomenal; and one of his admirers declared: "If John Keese should quit the auctioneer business, I should die of *ennui*. It would be a public calamity. He always looks to me like the ghost of Sheridan, grown sick of Parliament, and just emigrated and set up in the book-auction business in New York as a sort of practical joke on himself." It was then a perfectly natural question for Mr. James Linen to ask:

"Who lives in old Gotham in comfort and ease,
And knows not the wit and wag, Auctioneer Keese?"

And Mr. James T. Fields, the accomplished man of letters, then of the firm of Ticknor & Fields, in his rapidly penned verses after one of the Trade sales, pleasantly sang:

"But all were gay, and every one
Before the feast agrees,
That when he wants for food or fun
He'll shake a bunch of *Keese*."

Mr. Duyckinck truly says that "an auctioneer is bound to hold his own against all interlocutors. * * * It is his business to control the audiences and their purses. To do this he must keep his company in good humor, and least of all suffer any intellectual discomfiture. Keese never lost this superiority."

But let us get into the Auction Room. A narrative of the Battle of Waterloo is put up. "How much for it?" Twenty-five cents was bid. "There was no quarter at the Battle of Waterloo, my dear sir." I believe it was the late Mr. Gowans, who, when the auctioneer held in his hand *Some Account of the Centaurs*, declared there couldn't be a history of what never existed, and wanted an instance of a Centaur; whereupon the doubter was referred to the Biblical record of the head of John the Baptist coming in on a charger.

A witticism sometimes might be beyond the ken of a portion of his audience, as when he spoke of Cadmus as the "first post-boy," because

"he carried letters from Phœnecia to Greece;" but when he knocked down Dagley's Death's Doings for seventy-five cents to "a decayed apothecary," with the consolatory comment of "smallest *fevers* gratefully received," there was no lack of comprehension. Selling a black letter volume "concerning the apparel of ministers," he supposed it referred probably to their "surplus ornaments;" and he assured his audience that the Poems of the Rev. Mr. Logan were the Banks and Braes of Bonnie Doon—at all events the brays.

An illustration of his readiness was when a parcel of fancy envelopes was passed up, to be sold in one lot. "How many are there?" was shouted from various parts of the room. "O, I don't know; too many to number. How much for the lot?" At last they were knocked down. "What name?" "Cowper!" "It shall be Cowper's Task to count them," instantly exclaimed the auctioneer.

A joke much relished by the book-binding fraternity was his likening a ledger to Austria, because it was backed and cornered by Russia; and when it was knocked down to a Mr. Owen Phalen, he paused at the name and said reflectively: "Don't know about selling to a man that's always Owen and Phalen."

At one of the sales of furniture a table of curious design was sold to a bidder who left it to be called for. Some time elapsed, when a friend happening in admired the table, and wished to buy it at private sale. My father told him it was sold to a party who thus far had proved himself the most un-com-for-table-man he ever knew.

I remember when a lot of Wade & Butcher's Sheffield razors was included in the catalogue, the auctioneer said there was no limit to their sanguinary possibilities—for the purchaser "might wade in blood and butcher all his friends." "Never mind, you'll have one volume less to read," he said to a bidder who found his set of books short; and when another wanted to know where the outside of his copy of Lamb was, the auctioneer conjectured that "somebody had fleeced it," adding consolingly, "but you can recover it, you know." A back-gammon board was put up, "to be sold on the square, and as perfect as any copy of Milton, which comparison necessitated the explanation that there was a pair o' dice lost; and "Three Eras of a Woman's Life" elicited the running comment of "Wonderful woman—only three errors. How much—thirty cents—only ten cents apiece—not very expensive errors after all."

Hallam's Middle Ages, "intended for gentlemen in the prime of life," and a copy of the Court Guide, "a free translation of Ovid,"

were severally knocked down, the last to a bidder whom the auctioneer unhesitatingly announced as Mr. Tupman, the relevancy of which name all readers of *Pickwick* will perceive.

I have alluded to Mr. Gowans. He was an Irishman, and his native wit made him formidable. His mission to the auction room was apparently to pursue the auctioneer, and very appropriately, therefore, he bought under the name of *Chase*. My father was once selling prayer books, and Gowans, sitting somewhat back in the company, wishing to create a diversion, as was his wont, interrupted the rapid vocalization with: "Are they in English?" As quick as gunpowder the auctioneer replied: "Of course they are. *Do you suppose a man is going to pray in Irish?*"

The enthusiasm of an Irishman was so aroused one evening that it could only find expression in the determination to vote for the auctioneer for alderman—and "Be gorra, name your ward." The episode was laughingly closed by my father's explanation that he belonged to no ward then, but when he was a boy he belonged to them all. The mystery shrouding this statement was dissolved by the modest hint that when he was a boy he was one of the Master Keys.

A portion of the library of Charles Lamb at one time came under my father's hammer. I can fancy that he must have revelled in the suggestions born of that hallowed treasure. Would that hand and memory had preserved a record of what must been an occasion of more than ordinary interest. Possibly some reader of this may supply what I have altogether missed. And with this tinge of regret I close my imperfect sketch.

The Autumn Trade Sale is just over, and old memories came o'er me as day by day I read its course as traced in the newspapers. Many familiar names in the book trade were there; many new houses founded on old ones were represented; many passing to successors still retained the old firm name. One name that of old was so potent, one voice that rang so clearly, one glance alert to detect the slightest nod, one brain forever busy, was missing—had long been missing—from the muster-roll. But I love to think that perhaps a few hearts went back into the past, and there lingered a moment in remembering John Keesee, the Auctioneer.

WILLIAM L. KEESE

NARRATIVE BY
CAPTAIN JOHN STUART
OF GENERAL ANDREW LEWIS' EXPEDI-
TION AGAINST THE INDIANS IN THE
YEAR 1774, AND OF THE BAT-
TLE OF POINT PLEASANT,
VIRGINIA

II

He, [Andrew Lewis,] was appointed first Captain under General Washington, together with Captain Peter Hogg in the year 1752, when General Washington was appointed Major by Governour Gooch to go on the Frontiers and erect a Garrison at the little Meadows, on the waters of the Monongahela, to prevent the Encroachment of the French, who were extending their claims from Fort Pitt (then Fort Duquesne) up the Monongahela River and its Waters. During the Time they were employed about that Business they sustained an Attack made on them by a party of French and Indians sent out from Fort Duquesne for that purpose, on account of an unfortunate affair that took place and happened soon after they had arrived at the little Meadows.

A French Gentlemen of the name of Jumenvail with a party was making some Surveys, not far from Maj. Washington's Encampment. Maj. Washington ordered Capt. Hogg to go and examine him, as to his Authority for making such Encroachments on the British Claims and Settlements. Capt. Hogg discovered where Jumenvail was camped, which he approached in the Night Time, and contrary to the orders or the Instructions of Maj. Washington, he fired on Jumenvail and killed him. The French, in order to retaliate, sent out a party to attack

Washington, but they were discovered when within one Mile of the Encampment, and soon appeared before it and commenced firing as they approached. Our people had made some Intrenchments from which they returned the Fire.

In this Engagement Gen'l Lewis received two Wounds. The French at length cried out for parley, and the firing ceased on both sides and the parties intermixed indiscriminately, and articles of Capitulation were drawn up by the French which Maj. Washington signed and acknowledged. He was then a very young man, and unacquainted with the French Language, and it seems in that instrument he acknowledged the assassination of Jumenvail. This was sent to Europe and published. And Hostilities soon after commenced between the two rival Nations viz: England and France; the chief Foundation of the quarrel being founded on this Transaction in America. I have seen Bissit's Account of the beginning of the War of 1755, in his History of England. It differs somewhat from this; but I have narrated the Facts as I heard them from Gen'l Lewis, and have no Doubt of their Correctness.

The French had brought with their party a Number of Indians, which gave them a Superiority of Numbers. An Accident took place during the Intermixture of the parties which might have proved fatal to Washington and his party had not Gen'l Lewis, with great presence of mind, prevented it. An Irish Soldier, in the Crowd, seeing an Indian near him, swore in the well known language of his Countrymen, "I will send the yellow Son of a B—h to Hell!" Gen'l Lewis, who was limping near him with

his wounded leg, struck the muzzle of his Gun into the Air and saved the Indian's life as well as the lives of all the party, had the Irishman's Intentions taken Effect.

When the War of 1755 began Gen'l Washington was appointed the Commander of the first Regiment ever raised in Virginia, and Gen'l Lewis, Major, who was afterwards on a command with the British Maj. Grant, under Gen'l Forbis, to reconnoitre the Vicinity of the French Fort (now Fort Pitt), against which Gen'l Forbis's Army was then on their March to endeavor to demolish it when Grant and Lewis drew near the Garrison undiscovered. Maj. Grant began to apprehend he could surprise the Garrison and disappoint his General of the honour of the Conquest. Against this unjustifiable Attempt Gen'l Lewis in vain remonstrated, and represented that the Garrison was re-enforced by a Number of Indians, then at the place in great Force, and the Difficulty of reaching the Garrison privately and undiscovered.

Grant, however, was unwilling to share so great an Honour with any other, and ordered Maj. Lewis to remain with their Baggage with the provincial Troops which he commanded, whilst he, with his Scotch Highlanders, advanced to the Attack, which he began early in the Morning by beating Drums upon Grant's Hill (as it is still called). The Indians were lying on the opposite side of the River from the Garrison, when this Alarm began, in Number about one Thousand five hundred. The sound of War so sudden and so near them soon roused them to arms, and Grant and his

Highlanders were soon surrounded, then the work of death went on rapidly and in a manner quite novel to Scotch Highlanders, who, in all their European Wars, had never seen Men's Heads skinned before. Gen'l Lewis soon perceived by the retreating fire that Maj. Grant was overmatched and in a bad situation. He then advanced with his Corps of two hundred provincials, and falling on the Rear of the Indians, made a way for Maj. Grant and some of his men to escape, but Lewis's party was also defeated and himself taken prisoner. The Indians desired to put him to Death, but the French with Difficulty saved him; however, the Indians stripped him of all his Clothes but his shirt before he was taken into the Fort. An elderly Indian seized the shirt and insisted to have it, but he resisted with the Tomahawk drawn over his Head until a French officer by signs requested him to deliver the Shirt, and then took him into his Room and gave him a complete Dress to put on. When he was advancing to the Relief of Grant he met a Scotch Highlander under Speedy Flight, and inquiring of him how the Battle was going he said "they were ah beaten aund I hauv seen Donald McDonald aup till his Hunkers in Mud, weth ah the skeen af his heed." Grant had made his Escape from the Field of Battle with a party of seven or eight Soldiers and wandered all night in the Woods. In the Morning they returned to the Garrison and surrendered themselves prisoners to the Indians, who carried them into the Fort, and Maj. Grant's life was preserved by the French, but the Indians brought the Soldiers to the Room's Door where Maj. Lewis was,

and his Benefactor refused to let them come in, and they Killed all the Men at the Door.

The French expecting that the Main Army, under Gen'l Forbis, would soon come on, and believing that they would not be able to defend the Attack, blew up the Fort and retreated to Quebeck with the prisoners, where they were confined until a cartel took place, when they were exchanged.

This is the same Col. Grant who figured in the British Parliament in the year 1775, when Mr. Thurlow, the Attorney General, affirmed that the Americans were Traitors and Rebels, but did not prove his position from a Comparison of their Conduct with the Treason Laws, and Col. Grant in particular told the House, saying, "I have often acted in the same Service with the Americans, I know them well, and from that knowledge would venture to predict that they would never dare to face an English Army; for, being destitute of every Thing necessary to constitute good Soldiers by their laziness, uncleanness, or rascal Defects of Constitution, they were incapable of going through the Service of a Campaign, and would melt away with sickness before they would face an Enemy, so that a very slight force would be more than sufficient for their complete Reduction." But during the Time of their Captivity this philosophical Hero was detected in an Act of the most base Duplicity in Quebeck. As the letters of the English officers were inspected before they were sent off, a French officer discovered that in Maj. Grant's Communication to Gen'l Forbis he had represented the whole Disgrace of his

Defeat to the misconduct of Maj. Lewis and his provincial Troops. The officer immediately carried the letter to Maj. Lewis and shewed it to him. Lewis, indignant at such a scandalous and unjust representation, accused Grant of his Duplicity in the Presence of the French officers and challenged him, but Grant prudently declined the Combat, after receiving the grossest Insults by spitting in his face and degrading language.

After the French had blown up the Fort and departed for Quebeck with the prisoners, in going up the Alleghany River, it was very cold, and Grant lay shivering in the Boat cursing the Americans and their Country, threatening if ever he returned to England he would let his Majesty know their insignificance and the Impropriety of the Trouble and Expense of the Nation in endeavoring to protect such a vile Country and People. For this provoking language Gen'l Lewis did chide him severely.

Gen'l Lewis was in person upwards of six Feet high, of uncommon Strength and Agility, and his Form of the most exact Symmetry that I ever beheld in Human Being. He had a stern and invincible Countenance, and he was of a distant and reserved Deportment, which rendered his Presence more awful than engaging. He was a Commissioner with Dr. Thomas Walker to hold a treaty on Behalf of the Colony of Virginia with the Six Nations of Indians together with the Commissioners from Pennsylvania, New York and other eastern provinces, held at Fort Stanwix, in the province of New York, in the year 1768. It was there remarked by the Governour of New York that the Earth seemed to tremble

under him as he walked along. His independent spirit despised sycophant means of gaining Popularity, which never rendered more than his superior merits extorted. Such a Character was not calculated to gain much Applause by commanding an Army of Volunteers, without Discipline, Experience or Gratitude. Many took umbrage because they were compelled to do their Duty, and others thought the Duties of a common Soldier were beneath the Dignity of a Volunteer. Every one found some imaginary complaint.

When Congress determined to be independent and appointed General officers to command our Armies to prosecute the War for Independence and defending our Liberty, they nominated Genl. Washington to the chief Command; but his great modesty recommended Genl Lewis in Preference to himself. But one of his colleagues from Virginia observed that Genl. Lewis's Popularity had suffered much from the Declamation of some of his Troops on the late Expedition against the Indians, and it would be impolitical at that Conjuncture to make the Appointment. He was, however, appointed afterwards as the first Brigadier-General, and took the Command, at Norfolk, of the Virginia Troops. When Lord Dunmore made his escape from Williamsburg on Board a British Ship of War lying off Norfolk, the Vessel drew up and commenced a Fire on the Town, but Genl. Lewis, from a Battery, compelled his Lordship to depart, and I believe he never afterwards set his foot on American Ground.

This ended the military Career of Genl. Lewis, Congress having appointed

Genl. Stephens and some others Major-Generals, gave him some offense, as he had been their superior in former services and having accepted his office of Brigadier at the solicitation of Genl. Washington, he wrote the General his intention to resign. Genl. Washington in Reply pressed him to hold his Command and assured him that Justice would be done him as it respected his Rank. But he was grown old, and his Ardour for Military Fame abated, and being seized with a Fever he resigned his Command to return Home in the year 1780, and died on his Way, in Bedford County, about forty miles from his own house, on Roanoke in Botetourt County, lamented by all who were intimately acquainted with his many meritorious services and superior qualities.

It is said there is a Book now extant in this Country under the Title of Smith's Travels in America (which was written in England), wherein the Author asserts that he was on the Expedition in the year 1774, and that he joined the Augusta Troops in Staunton. He gives a particular Description of Mr. Sampson Mathew's Tavern and Family, who kept the most noted publick House in Town, and of the March of our Army from Camp Union to Point Pleasant. He also gives an Account of the Battle and of Col. Lewis being Killed in the Engagement. If such a person were along I am persuaded he was incog. and a Creature of Lord Dunmore, for I was particularly acquainted with all the officers of the Augusta Troops, and the chief of all the Men, but I knew of no such a Man as Smith, and I am the more confirmed in this opinion from what Genl. Lewis told

me in the year 1779, that he was informed that on the Evening of the 10th of October, the Day of our Battle, that Dunmore and the noted Dr. Connelly, of Tory Memory, with some other officers were taking a walk, when Dunmore observed to the Gentlemen that he expected by that Time that Col. Lewis had hot work. And this corresponds with my suspicions of the Language of McCullough, who promised us "Grinders," for had not McCullough seen the Indians coming down the River on his Return the Evening before the Battle, they could not have known the Strength of our Army, or the Amount of our Troops so correctly as they certainly did; for during the Battle I heard one of the Enemy hollow out with abusive Terms in English, that they had eleven hundred Indians and two Thousand more coming. The same Boast was vociferated from the opposite side of the River, in hearing of many of our Officers and Men who occupied the Ohio Bank during the Battle, as the Number of eleven hundred was precisely our Number, and an Expectation entertained by some that Col. Christian would come on with two Thousand more. The Intelligence must have been communicated to the Indians by the Governour's Scouts, for there could have been no other Means of conveying such exact Information to them. Col. Christian had only about three hundred altogether, including the three Companies of Shelby, Russel and Harbert, when he arrived at our Camp.

Having finished the Intrenchments and put every Thing in Order for securing the wounded from Danger after the

Battle, we crossed the Ohio River on our March to the Shawnee Towns, taking our March by the way of the Salt Licks, and Capt. Arbuckle for our Guide, who was equally esteemed for a Soldier as a fine Woodsman. When we came to the Prairie on Killikenny Creek, we saw the Smoke of a Small Indian Town, which they deserted and set on Fire at our Approach. Here we met an Express from the Governour's Camp, who had arrived near the Nation and proposed Terms of peace with the Indians. Some of the Chiefs, with the Grenadier Squaw on the Return of the Indians after their Defeat, had repaired to the Governour's Army to solicit Terms of peace for the Indians (which I apprehend they had no Doubt of obtaining), and the Governour promised them the War should be no further prosecuted, and that he would stop the March of Lewis's Army before any more Hostilities should be committed upon them. However, the Indians, finding we were rapidly approaching, began to suspect that the Governour did not possess the power of stopping us, whom they designated by the Name of Big Knife Men. Therefore, the Governour, with the White Fish Warriour, set off and met us at Killikenny Creek, and there Col. Lewis received orders to return with his Army, as he had proposed Terms of peace with the Indians, which he assured should be accomplished. His Lordship requested Col. Lewis to introduce him to his officers, and we were according ranged in Rank and had the Honour of an Introduction to the Governour and Commander-in-Chief, who politely thanked us for services

rendered on so monstrous an Occasion, and assured us of his high Esteem and Respect for our Conduct.

On the Governour's consulting Col. Lewis it was deemed necessary that a Garrison should be established at Point Pleasant to prevent and intercept the Indians from crossing the Ohio to our Side, as well as to prevent any Whites from crossing over to the side of the Indians, and by such means preserve a future Peace, according to the Condition of the Treaty then to be made by the Governour with the Indians. And Capt. Arbuckle was appointed Commander of the Garrison, with Instructions to enlist one hundred Men for the Term of one year from the Date of their Enlistment, and proceeded to erect a Fort, which was executed on the following Summer.

The next Spring the Revolutionary War commenced between the British Army under Genl. Gage, at Boston, and the Citizens of the State of Massachusetts, at Lexington. And Virginia soon after did assume an Independent Form of Government, and began to levy Troops for the common Defense of the Country, when another Company was ordered to the Aid of Capt. Arbuckle's Garrison, to be commanded by Capt. William McKee. But the Troubles of the War accumulated so fast that it was found too inconvenient and expensive to keep a Garrison at so great a Distance from any Inhabitants, as well as a Demand for all the Troops that could be raised to oppose British Force. Capt. Arbuckle was ordered to vacate the Station and to join Genl. Washington's Army, but this he was not willing to do, having engaged, as he alleged, for a different

service. A Number of his Men, however, marched and joined the Main Army until the Time of their Enlistment expired. In the year 1777 the Indians, being urged by British Agents, became very Troublesome to frontier Settlements, manifesting much Appearance of Hostilities, when the Cornstalk Warriour, with the young Redhawk, paid a visit to the Garrison at Point Pleasant. He made no Secret of the Disposition of the Indians, declaring that on his own Part he was opposed to joining in the War on the side of the British, but that all the Rest of the Nation but himself and his own Tribe were determined to engage in the War, and that of Course, he and his Tribe would have to run with the Stream (as he expressed it); on which Capt. Arbuckle thought proper to detain him, the young Redhawk and another Fellow, as Hostages, to prevent the Nation from joining the British.

In the Course of that Summer our Government had ordered an Army to be raised of Volunteers, to serve under the Command of Genl. Hand, who was to have collected a Number of Troops at Fort Pitt; with them to descend the River to Point Pleasant, there to meet a Re-enforcement of Volunteers expected to be raised in Augusta and Botetourt Counties, and then to proceed to the Shawnee Towns and chastise the Indians; so as to compel them to a neutrality; but Hand did not succeed in the Collection of Troops at Fort Pitt, and but three or four Companies only were raised in Botetourt and Augusta, and which were under the Command of Col. George Shillieran, who had ordered me to use my Endeavors to raise all the Volunteers I

could get in Greenbrier for that service. The people had begun to see the Difficulties attendant on a State of War and long Campaigns carried through Wildernesses, and but few were willing to engage in such Service, but the Settlements we covered being less exposed to the Depredations of the Indians, had shown a willingness to aid in the proposed plan to chastise the Indians, and had raised three Companies. I was very anxious of doing all I could to promote the business and aid the Service, used the utmost Endeavors by proposing to the Militia Officers to Volunteer ourselves, which would be an Encouragement to others, and by such Means, raise all the Men that could be got. The chief of the officers in Greenbrier agreed to the Proposal; and we cast lots who should command the Company. The lot fell on Andrew Hamilton for Captain, and William Renick for Lieutenant, and we collected in all about forty Men and joined Col. Shillern's party on their Way to Point Pleasant. When we arrived at Point Pleasant, there was no Account of Genl. Hand, or his Army, and little or no provisions made to support our Troops, except what we had taken with us down the Kanahway, and we found that the Garrison was unable to spare us any supplies, being nearly exhausted, when we got there, what had been provided for themselves; but we concluded to remain there as long as we could to wait the Arrival of Genl. Hand or some Account from him. But during the Time of our Stay, two young men of the name of Hamilton and Gilmore went over the Kanahway one day to hunt for Deer. On their

Return to the Camp, some Indians had concealed themselves on the Bank amongst the Weeds to view our Encampment, and as Gilmore came along past them, they fired on him, and Killed him on the Bank. Capt. Arbuckle and I were standing upon the opposite Bank, when the Gun fired, and whilst we were wondering who could be shooting contrary to orders, or what they were doing over the River, we saw Hamilton run down the Bank and called out saying: "Gilmore is Killed."

Gilmore was one of the Company of Capt. John Hall, of that part of the Country (now Rockbridge County), and a Relation of Gilmore, whose Family and Friends were chiefly cut off by the Indians in the year 1763, when Greenbrier was cut off. Hall's men instantly jumped into a Canoe, and went to the Relief of Hamilton, who was standing in momentary expectation of being put to death; and they brought the Corpse of Gilmore down the Bank covered with Blood and Scalped. They put him into a Canoe, and as they were passing the River, I observed to Capt. Arbuckle, that the people would be for Killing the Hostages, as soon as the Canoe would land, but he supposed they would not offer to commit so great an Outrage on the innocent, who were in no wise accessory to the murder of Gilmore; but the Canoe had scarcely touched the Shore until the Cry was raised: "Let us Kill the Indians in the Fort," and every Man, with his Gun in his Hand, came up the Bank as pale as death with Rage. Capt. Hall was at their Head and leader. Arbuckle and I met them and endeavoured to dissuade them from so un-

justifiable an Action, but they cocked their Guns, and threatened us with instant Death if we did not desist. They rushed by us into the Fort and put the Indians to death. On the preceding Day the Cornstalk's Son Elinipsico had come from the Nation to see his Father, and to Know if he were Well, or yet alive. When he came to the River opposite the Fort, he halloed over. His Father was at that Instant in the Act of delineating a Map of the Country and Waters between the Shawnee Towns and the Mississippi, at our Request, with Chalk upon the Floor. He immediately recognized the Voice of his Son, got up, and went out and answered, and the young Fellow crossed over and they embraced each other in the most tender and affectionate Manner. The Interpreter's Wife, who had been a prisoner with the Indians and had recently left them, on hearing the uproar the next Day, and hearing the men threatening that they would Kill the Indians, for whom she retained much Affection, ran to their Cabin and informed them that the people were just coming to Kill them, and that because the Indians that Killed Gilmore had come with Elinipsico the Day before. He utterly denied it, declared that he Knew Nothing of them, and trembled exceedingly. His Father encouraged him not to be afraid, for the Great Man above had sent him there to be Killed, and die with him. As the men advanced to the Door, the Cornstalk rose up and met them. They fired upon him, and seven or eight Bullets passed through him. Thus fell the great Cornstalk Warrior whose Name was bestowed upon him by the Consent of the

Nation as their great Strength and Support. His Son was shot dead as he sat upon a Stool. The Redhawk made an Attempt to go up the Chimney, but was shot down. The other Indian was Shamefully mangled, and I grieved to see him long in the Agonies of Death.

The Cornstalk from personal Appearance and many brave Acts, was undoubtedly a Hero. Had he been spared to live, I believe he would have been friendly to the American Cause. Nothing could have induced him to make the visit to the Garrison, at the critical Time he did, but to communicate the Temper and Disposition of the Indians, and their Design of taking part with the British. On the Day that he was Killed, we had held a Council, in which he was. His Countenance was dejected, and he made a Speech, all of which seemed to indicate an honest and manly Disposition. He acknowledged that he expected he and his party would have to run with the Stream, for all the Indians on the Lakes, and Northwardly, were joining the British. When he returned to the Shawnee Town, after the Battle at the Point, he called a Council of the Nation, to consult what was to be done, and upbraided the Indians, for their Folly in not suffering him to make Peace, on the Evening before the Battle, saying: What will you do now? The big Knife³ is coming on us, and we shall all be Killed. Now you must fight, or we are undone." But no one made answer. He then said: "Let us Kill all our Women and Children and go and fight till we die." But none would answer. At length, he arose and struck his Tomahawk in the Post, in the Centre of the Town House, and said,

"I'll go and make Peace!" and then the Warriours all grunted out "ough! ough! ough!" And Runners were instantly despatched to the Governour's Army to solicit a peace, and the Interposition of the Governour on their Behalf. When he made his Speech in the Council with us, he seemed impressed with an awful prediction of his approaching Fate. For he repeatedly said, "when I was a young Man and went to War, I thought that might be the last time, and I would return no more;" "Now," said he, "I am here amongst you, you may Kill me if you please; I can die but once, and it is all one to me now or another Time!" And this Declaration concluded every sentence of his Speech. He was Killed about one hour after our Council broke up.

A few days after this Catastrophe, Genl. Hand arrived, but had no Troops, and we were discharged, and returned Home a short Time before Christmas.

Not long after we left the Garrison, a small party of Indians appeared near the Fort; and Lieut. Moore was ordered with a party to pursue them. Their Design was to retaliate the Murder of the Cornstalk.

Moore had not proceeded over one quarter of a Mile, until he fell into an Ambuscade and was Killed with several of his Men.

The next year, 1778, in the Month of May, a small party of Indians again appeared near the Garrison, and showed themselves, but soon decamped apparently in great Terror; but the Garrison was aware of their Seduction, and no one was ordered to pursue them. Finding their Scheme was not likely to suc-

ceed, all their whole Army rose up at once, and showed themselves, extending across from the Bank of the Ohio, to the Bank of the Kanahway, and commenced a Fire on the Garrison, which lasted several Hours, but without Effect. At Length, one of them had the Presumption to advance so near the Fort, as to request the Favour of being permitted to come in, to which Capt. McKee granted his Assent, and the Stranger very composedly walked in. Capt. Arbuckle was then absent on a Visit to Greenbrier to see his Family. During the Time the strange Gentleman was in the Fort, a Gun went off in the Fort by an Accident. The Indians without raised a hideous Yell, supposing the Fellow was Killed in the Fort; but he instantly jumped up in one of the Bastions and showed himself, giving the sign that all was well, and reconciled his Friends. Finding they could make no Impression on the Garrison, they concluded to come on to Greenbrier, and collecting all the Cattle about the Garrison for provision on their March, started up the Kanahway in great military parade to finish their Campaign, and take Vengeance of us for the Death of the Cornstalk; but Capt. McKee perceiving their Design by the Route they were pursuing, despatched Philip Hammon and John Pryor, after them with Orders, if possible, to pass them undiscovered, and give the inhabitants notice of their Approach. This hazardous Service they performed with great Fidelity. The Indians had two Days start of them; but they pursued with such Speed and Diligence, that they overtook and passed the Indians, at the House of William

McClurg, at the Meadows about twenty Miles from Lewisburg. It was in the Evening of the Day and McClurg's Family had previously removed further in amongst the Inhabitants for Safety, as they were of the Frontier-House, on the way to Point Pleasant. At this place Hammon and Pryor had a full View of them, as they walked upon a Piece of high Ground between the House and the Barn, and appeared to be viewing the great Meadows, lying in Sight of the House. Hammon and Pryor were in the Meadows concealed in the Weeds, and had a full View of their whole Party undiscovered by them, and calculated the Number of the Indians, by their Estimation at about two hundred Warriours. They, having passed the Indians at the Meadows, came on with great speed to Col. Andrew Donally's and gave the Alarm of the Approach of the Indians. Col. Donally lost no Time in collecting all his nearest Neighbours that Night, and sent a Servant to inform me.

Before Day, about twenty Men, including Hammon and Pryor, were collected at Donally's, and they had the Advantage of a Stockade Fort around and adjoining the House. There was a Number of Women and Children, making in all about sixty persons in the House. On the next day they kept a good Lookout in momentary Expectation of the Enemy. Col. Samuel Lewis was at my House, when the Messenger came with the Intelligence, and we lost no Time to alarm the People, and collect as many Men for Defence as we could get at Camp-Union all the next Day; but all were busy, some flying with their Families to the inward Settlements, and others securing their property, so

that in the Course of the next Day, we had not collected near one hundred Men. On the following Day, we sent out two Scouts to Donally's, very early in the Morning, who soon returned with Intelligence that the Fort was attacked. The Scouts had got within about one Mile, and heard the Guns firing briskly. We determined to give all the Aid to the besieged that we could and every man who was willing to go, was paraded. They amounted to sixty-eight in all, including Col. Lewis, Capt. Arbuckle, and myself. We drew near Donally's House about 2 o'clock P. M. but hearing no firing. For the sake of Expedition we had left the Road for a nearer Way, which led to the back side of the House, and escaped falling into an Ambuscade, placed on the Road, some Distance from the House, which might have been fatal to us, being greatly inferior to the Enemy in Point of Numbers. We soon discovered Indians, behind Trees, in a Rye-Field, looking earnestly at the House. Charles Gatliff and myself fired upon them, when we saw others running into the Rye near where the others stood. We all ran directly to the Fort. The People, on hearing the Guns on the Back side of the House, supposed it was another party of Indians, and all were at the Port holes ready to fire on us, but some discovering that we were their Friends, opened the Gates, and we all got in safe. One man only was shot through the Clothes. When we got to the Fort, we found there were only four Men Killed. Two of them were coming to the Fort, fell into the midst of the Indians, and were Killed. A Servant of Donally's was Killed early in the Morning, on the first Attack, and one man

was Killed in the Bastion, in the Fort. The Indians had commenced their Attack about Day-Light in the Morning, while the people were in Bed, all but Philip Hammon and an old Negro. The House composed one Part of the Fort in Front, and was double, the Kitchen making one End of the House, and there Hammon and the Negro were. A Hogshhead of Water was placed against the Door, and the Enemy had laid down their Guns at a Stable about fifty yards from the House, and made their Attack with Tomahawks and War-Clubs. Hammon and the Negro held the Door until they were splitting it with their Tomahawks. They suddenly let the Door open, and Hammon Killed the Indian on the Threshold, who was in the Act of Splitting the door. The negro had a Musket charged with Swan shots, and was jumping about on the Floor, asking Hammon where he should shoot. Hammond bid him fire away amongst them, for the yard was crowded thick as they could stand. Dick fired away and I believe with good effect, for a War Club lay in the yard and a Swan shot in it. He is now upwards of eighty years old; has long been abandonod by his Master, as well as his Wife, who is as old as himself; but they have made out to support their miserable Existence many years past, with their own Endeavours. And this is the Negro, to whom, our late Assembly, at their last Session, refused to grant a small Pension, to support the short Remains of his Wretched Days, which must soon end, though his humble Petition was supported by the Certificates of the most respectable Men in the County, wherein his meritorious service was done, on the trying Occasion,

which saved the lives of many Citizens then in the House.

The firing of Hammon and Dick awakened the People in the other End of the House and up-stairs where the chief of the men were lying. They soon fired out of the Windows on the Indians so briskly, that when we got in the Fort, seventeen of the Enemy lay dead in the yard, one of whom was a boy about fifteen or sixteen years old. His Body was so torn with the Bullet, that a Man might have run his Arm through him, yet he lived almost all day; made a lamentable cry, and the Indians hallowed to him to go into the House. After dark a fellow drew near the Fort, and called out in English, and said, "I want to make peace." We invited him to consult on the Terms; but he declined our Civility. They departed that Night, after dragging eight of their slain out of the yard; and we never found afterwards where they had buried them. Neither did they ever afterwards visit Greenbrier more than twice, and then in very small parties, one of which Killed a Man and his Wife, of the name of Monday, and wounded Capt. Saml. McClung. The last Person Killed was Thomas Griffith, and his son was taken; but going down the Kanahway, they were pursued, and one of the Indians was Killed, and the Boy relieved.

Thus ended our Wars in Greenbrier, with the Indians, in the year 1780.

Narrated by John Stuart of

Greenbrier County, Virginia,
December, 1820.

¹ See history of England for 1775, page 527, vol. 12th.

² The Term used by them to designate our Army.

AN EXPLANATION OF THE DEVICES ON THE CONTINENTAL BILLS OF CREDIT, WITH CONJECTURES OF THEIR MEANING.

From the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, December, 1775

An emblematical device, when rightly formed is said to consist of two parts, a *body* and a *mind*, neither of which is complete or intelligible, without the aid of the other. The figure is called the *body*, the motto the *mind*. These that I am about to consider, appear formed on that rule, and seem to relate to the present struggles between the Colonies and the tyrant state, for liberty, property and safety on the one hand, for absolute power and plunder on the other.

On one denomination of the bills, there is a figure of a *harp*, with this motto, *Majora minoribus consonant*; literally, *The greater and smaller ones found together*. As the *harp* is an instrument composed of *great and small* strings, included in a *strong frame*, and is all so tuned as to agree in concord with each other, I conceive that the *frame* may be intended to represent our new government by a Continental Congress; and the strings of different lengths and substance, either the several colonies of different weight and force, or the various ranks of people in all of them, who are now united by that government in the most perfect *harmony*.

On another bill is impressed, a *wild boar of the forest*, rushing on the spear of the hunter; with this motto: *Aut mors, aut vita decora*; which may be translated—*Death or liberty*. The wild

boar is an animal of great strength and courage, armed with long and sharp tusks, which he well knows how to use in his defence. He is inoffensive while suffered to enjoy his freedom, but when roused and wounded by the hunter, often turns and makes him pay dearly for his injustice and temerity.

On another is drawn an *eagle* on the wing pouncing upon a *crane*, who turns upon his back, and receives the eagle on the point of his long bill, which pierces the eagle's breast; with this motto, *Exitus in dubio est*;—*The event is uncertain*. The eagle, I suppose, represents Great Britain, the crane America. This device offers an admonition to each of the contending parties, to the Crane not to depend too much upon the success of its *endeavours to avoid* the contest (by petition, negotiation, &c.), but prepare for using the means of defence God and nature hath given it; and to the eagle not to presume on its superior strength, since a weaker bird may wound it mortally.

Sunt dubii eventus, incertaque proelia martis :

Vincitur haud raro, qui prope victor erat.

On another bill we have a *thorny bush*, which a hand seems attempting to eradicate. The hand appears to bleed, as pricked by the spines. The motto is *Sustine vel Abstine*; which may be rendered, *Bear with me or let me alone*; or thus, *Either support or leave me*. The bush I suppose to mean *America*, and the bleeding hand *Brittain*. Would to God that bleeding were stopt, the wounds of that hand healed, and its future operations directed by wisdom and equity; so shall the hawthorn

flourish, and form an hedge around it, annoying with its thorns only its invading enemies.

Another has the figure of a *beaver* gnawing a large tree, with this motto, *Perseverando; by perseverance*. I apprehend the *great tree* may be intended to represent the enormous power Britain has assumed over us, and endeavours to enforce by arms, of taxing us at pleasure, and binding us in all cases whatsoever, or the exorbitant profits she makes by monopolizing our commerce. Then the *beaver*, which is known to be able, by assiduous and steady working, to fell large trees, may signify *America*, which, by perseverance in her present measures, will probably reduce that power within proper bounds, and by establishing the most necessary manufactures among ourselves, abolish the British monopoly.

On another bill, we have the plant *acanthus* sprouting on all sides, under a weight placed upon it, with the motto, *Depressa Risurgit; Though oppressed it rises*. The ancients tell us, that the sight of such an accidental circumstance, gave the first hint to an architect in forming the beautiful capital of the Corinthian column. This, perhaps, was intended to encourage us, by representing that our present oppressions, will not destroy us, but that they may, by increasing our industry and forcing it into new courses, encrease the prosperity of our country, and establish that prosperity on the *base* of liberty, and the well proportioned *pillar* of property, elevated for a pleasing spectacle to all *connoisseurs*, who can *taste* and delight in the architecture of human happiness.

The figure of the *hand and flail* over *sheaves of wheat*, with the motto, *TRIBULATIO DITAT*—Threshing improves it: (which we find printed on another of the bills) may perhaps be intended to admonish us, that through at present we are under the *flail*, its blows how hard soever, will be rather advantageous than hurtful to us; for they will bring forth every *grain* of genius and merit in arts, manufactures, war and council, that are now concealed in the husk, and then the breadth of a breeze will be sufficient to separate us from all the chaff of toryism. *Tribulation* too, in our English sense of the word, improves the mind, it makes us humbler, and tends to make us wiser. And *threshing* in one of its senses, that of beating, often improves those that are threshed. Many an unwarlike nation, have been beaten into heroes by troublesome warlike neighbours; and the continuance of a war though it lessens the numbers of a people, often encreases its strenght by the encreased discipline and consequent courage of the number remaining. Thus England, after her civil war in which her people threshed one another, became more formidable to her neighbours. The public distress too that arises from war, by increasing frugality and industry, often gives habits that remain after the distress is over, and thereby naturally *enriches* those on whom it has enforced, those *enriching virtues*.

Another of the bills has for its device, a *storm* descending from a *black heavy cloud*, with the motto, *SERENABIT; It will clear up*. This seems designed to encourage the dejected, who may be too

sensible of present inconveniences, and fear their continuance. It reminds them agreeable to the adage, *that after a storm comes a calm*; or as Horace more elegantly has it—

Informes hyemes reducit, Jupiter : idem summovit.

Non si male nunc, et olim

Sic erit—Neque semper arcum tendit Apollo.

On another bill, there is stamped the representation of a *tempestuous sea*; a face with swollen cheeks, wrapt up in a black cloud, appearing to blow violently on the waters, *the waves high and all rolling one way*. The motto VI CONSITATÆ; which may be rendered, *raised by force*. From the remotest antiquity in figurative language, great waters have signified *the people*, and waves an insurrection. The people of themselves are supposed as naturally inclined to be still, as the waters to remain level and quiet. There rising here appears not to be from any internal cause, but from an external power, expressed by the head of *Æolus*, God of the winds (or *Boreas*, the north wind as usually the most violent) acting furiously upon them. The black cloud perhaps designs the British Parliament, and the waves the colonies. Their rolling all in one direction shews, that the very force used against them has produced their unanimity. On the reverse of this bill we have a smooth sea, the sails of ships on that sea hanging loose shew a perfect calm; the sun shining fully denotes a clear sky. The motto is, CESSANTE VENTO CONQUIESCEMUS: *The wind ceasing we shall be quiet*. Supposing my explanation of the preceeding device to be right, this will probably

import, that when those violent acts of power, which have aroused the colonies are repealed, they will return to their former tranquillity. Britian seems thus charged with being the sole cause of the present war, at the same time, that the only mode of putting an end to it, is thus plainly pointed out to her.

The last is a *wreath of laurel* on a *marble monument* or *altar*. The motto, SI RECTE FÀCIES, *If you act rightly*. This seems intended as an encouragement to a brave and steady conduct in defence of our liberties, as it promises, to crown with honour, by the laurel wreath, those who persevere to the end in *well-doing*; and with a long duration of that honour expressed by the *monument of marble*.

A learned friend of mine thinks this device more particularly addressed to the CONGRESS. He says, the ancients composed for their heroes, a wreath of laurel, oak and olive twigs interwoven; agreeable to the distich

E lauro, quercu, atque olea, duce, digna corona.

Prudentem, fortem, pacificumque, decet. Of *laurel*, as that tree was dedicated to *Apollo* and understood to signify *knowledge* and *prudence*; of *oak*, as pertaining to *Jupiter*, and expressing fortitude; of *olive*, as the tree of *Pallas* and as a symbol of *peace*. The whole to shew that those who are trusted to conduct the great affairs of mankind should act prudently and firmly, retaining, above all, a pacific disposition. This wreath was first upon an *altar*, to admonish the hero who was to be crowned with it, that true glory is founded on, and proceeds from *piety*. My friend therefore thinks the present device might intend a wreath of

that composite kind, though from the smallness of the work, the engraver could not mark distinctly the differing leaves: And he is rather confirmed in his opinion, that this is designed as an admonition to the Congress, when he considers the passage in *Horace*, from whence the motto is taken—

*Rex eris, aiunt,
Si recte facies.*

To which also *Ansonius* alludes,

*Qui recte faciet, non qui dominatur, erit
rex.*

Not the King's Parliament who act wrong but the people's Congress, *if it acts right* shall govern America.

NOTES

UNIFORMS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY.—To the August number of the Magazine I contributed an article under this title. The following adds to its completeness:

In 1775, the regiment of "Green Mountain Boys," on the Continental establishment, raised by the New York Provincial Congress, and of which Ethan Allen was Colonel, and Seth Warner, Lieutenant Colonel, was uniformed in coats of coarse green cloth, faced with red. (*Res. N. Y. Prov. Cong.*, 15 Aug., 1775.)

In the same year the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, in providing thirteen thousand coats for the Colony troops, resolved "that each coat should be faced with the same kind of cloth of which it was made; that the coats should be made in the common, plain way, without lappels, short and with small folds, and that they should all be buttoned with pewter buttons, and *that the*

coats for each regiment, respectively, should have buttons of the same number stamped on the face of them. (*Res. Mass. Prov. Cong.*, 23 April and 5 July, 1775.)

A pewter coat-button found on the battle field of "Freeman's Farm, or Stillwater," of 19th September, 1777, belonged to the uniform of the Eighth Regiment Massachussets Continental Infantry, under Colonel Michael Jackson.

This regiment not only distinguished itself in that action, but in the succeeding one, "Saratoga," of 7th October, 1777, where, under its Lieut.-Colonel John Brooks, it stormed the Brunswick redoubt. Its subsequent gallant conduct at "Monmouth," and in other battles, brought it into special notice. The button has a slight border, and the following in raised letters and figures on the face:

M A S

VIII

R E G

The Ninth Regiment Mass. Continental Infantry, under Colonel James Wesson, was also in the same actions. A pewter button of this Regiment, found at Fort Constitution, Martelaer's Rock, opposite West Point, where the Ninth was subsequently stationed, is of the same design as the preceeding one, and of the size of the present U. S. Infantry button.

Two uniform buttons, respectively of the 3d Regiment Mass. Continental Infantry, Colonel John Groaton, and the 7th Regiment Mass. Continental Infantry, Lieut.-Colonel Commandant John Brooks, have been found on the old, 1782, camp ground of the American Army, near Newburgh, N. Y. They are

deposited at Washington's Headquarters in that City. These buttons are of pewter, of same size as last named, slightly oval, and have the word MAS. raised upon their faces, and underneath the Arabic numerals, 3 and 7, respectively, with an ornamentation of a vine or leaves below the figures.

A button from the uniform coat of Colonel and Bvt.-Brig.-Gen. Peter Ganesvoort, 3d Regiment N. Y. Continental Infantry (who was Brig.-Gen., U. S. A. in 1808), is in possession of Mr. Elisha R. Freeman, of "Bemis Heights." It is of gilt, flat, with an eagle slightly raised upon it, encircled by thirteen stars, and is of the same general design as the present uniform buttons of the General Officers, Professors of the Military Academy, and other officers of the staff of the American Army.

Another uniform coat button, of pewter, found by Mr. Freeman on the battle field of "Freeman's Farm," has a slight border, and the letters U. S. A. raised upon the face, the S overlapping both the U and A, thus forming a sort of monogram. This button most probably came from the coat of one of the regular New York Regiments of Infantry—either the 2d Regiment, under Colonel Philip Cortland, or the 4th Regiment, under Colonel Henry B. Livingston, each of which were with Major General Gates in the actions of 19th September and 7th October, 1777. It might, however, have come from the coat of one of the three regular Continental Regiments of Infantry from New Hampshire, who were also there, *viz.*: 1st N. H., Col Joseph Cilley; 2d N. H., Col. Nathan Hale; and 3d N. H., Col. Alexander Scammell.

Buttons of the same design, both large and small, for uniform coat and vest, have been found at Fort Constitution, and as the 3d Regiment N. Y. Continental Infantry was at one time in garrison there, it is presumable the buttons thus marked belonged to the New York troops.

The regular Corps of Artillery in the American Army, until after the second war with Great Britain, had for a design for the uniform buttons an unlimbered field piece raised upon the brass or gilt metal, with a small guidon flag, fastened by its staff to the right side of the trail of a De Gribeauval carriage about where the wheel guard plate is fixed on the modern trail. The rim of the button had a slight ornamentation. A button of this description was found in the main redoubt, Fort Constitution, which was long garrisoned by the Artillery.

The buttons of H. B. M. 20th and 31st Regiments Infantry, found on the Gates-Burgoyne battle fields, were also of pewter.

A uniform button, same material, of the 25th Foot, British Army, ("King's Own Borderer's,") found by Prof. Robert W. Weir, U. S. Military Academy, in his garden at that Post, and presented to me, is of the same design as now worn by that regiment. It undoubtedly came from the coat of some enlisted man made prisoner of war and confined near the place where it was found.

On p. 482, in referring to the uniform of the Corps of Artillery, by a clerical error, the plume is incorrectly described as being black with red top, instead of being wholly red as stated on p. 473. The black plume with red top was

prescribed for the *Light Infantry* of the Army to distinguish it from the rest, and was not, during the Revolution, worn by any other arm of the service.—(*G. O. Army Headquarters, Tea Neck, 29 August, 1780.*)

ASA BIRD GARDNER.

MOUNT WASHINGTON AND ITS CAPTURE.—Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, who contributed the article under this title to our February number, has printed this additional material:

EDITOR.

Colonel Magaw's Orderly Book at Mount Washington.—The following is a copy of all the entries in the Orderly Book of Colonel Magaw, taken from the original by the kind permission of its present owner, the Rev. Dr. Joseph A. Murray, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania. It begins October 31st, 1776, but unfortunately stops November 10th, 1776, six days before the surrender. The order of Nov. 1st, increasing the picket guards very strongly for the 2d, may have been the proximate cause of Demont's departure. He probably did not want to run the risk of the increased numbers of pickets, and therefore went over to the enemy before they were actually placed on guard. E. F. DE L.

"Harlem Heights, October 25th, Parole Danvers, Co. Sign Newberry. Saturday, October 26th, Parole Lexington, Co. Sign Concord. Sunday, October 27th, Parole Roxbury, Co. Sign Cambridge. Monday, October 28th, Parole Litchfield, Co. Sign Norwich. Tuesday, October 29th, Parole Berks, Co. Sign Reading. Wednesday, October 30th, Parole Lancaster, Co. Sign York. Thursday, October 31st, Parole Cumber-

land, Co. Sign Carlisle. Friday, November 1st, Parole Pittsburgh, Co. Sign Bedford.

Coll. Magaw's Orders.

Ninety men for Picquet towards New York to-morrow, to be stationed as follows:—North River, 1 Sub. and 20; Holloway, 1 Sergt. and 10; Point of Rocks, 1 Sub. and 20; Works near Harlaem River, 1 Sub. and 20; one Capt. at the Point of Rocks or North River; 1 Sub. and 20 on the East River between Headquarters and Fort Washington. Weekly returns to be given in before 12 o'clock at Noon, of the strength of the several Regiments and Detachments of our Troops now on this Island, that duty may be proportioned.

Capt. Long's Company to join Coll. Rawling's Batta; in the mean time Capt. Moulton of the Artillery, will appoint one of his Officers to act as Fort Major, who will prevent all doubtful or suspicious persons entering the Fort, and observe all such Orders as may be given by the Commanding Officer or Capt. Moulton.

Saturday, November 2d, Parole Amboy, Co. Sign Woodbridge. Sunday, November 3d, Parole Morris, Co. Sign Potter. Monday, November 4th, Parole Sabrook, Co. Sign Enfield.

No cattle or hogs to be suffered in the Fort. No passes or passages to be made on any pretence whatsoever through the Abbatis, Lieut. Coll. Wypert is to be at liberty to have any Tents or obstructions removed which may be in his way in strengthening the works; all Officers to give him assistance for that purpose. The officers of the several Guards to recommend the greatest alertness to

their Centinels at this time and place, the most dangerous, important, and honourable Post that, perhaps, Americans were ever placed in. The Liberty of this great and free Continent may in great measure depend on our vigilance and bravery. Mr. John Morgan is to act as Brigade Major, all passes signed by him to be considered as good.

The Adjutants or Sergt. Majors of the several battalions to attend at Headquarters at 3 o'clock every day for orders, which will be delivered by Mr. Morgan, he will also deliver them the Parole and Counter Sign in the Evening. Each Battalion and Detachment to make out exact returns of their strength on this Island, both fit for duty and sick, as orders are received to transmit the returns to the Commander in Chief, and the Congress, these returns to be made by 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Tuesday, November 5th, Parole Bristol, Co. Sign Frankfort.

Notwithstanding the frequent general orders against firing guns about the Camp, and wanton waste of Amunition, This destructive practice still prevails, Officers are to be very vigilant and detect and confine offenders, and also to examine the Cartouch Boxes at least twice a week, and charge the men 6d pr Cartridge for such as cant be accounted for.

Wednesday, November 6th, Parole Dover, Co. Sign Darby.

The Officers of the Guards on the lines are to be very punctual in giving strict orders to the Centinels to permit no person who is not in this service to come within the lines, but such as come to continue, as they will not on any pre-

tence whatever be permitted to return, likewise no person to pass from here beyond the lines, as they will not on any account be suffered to return.

The Adjutants and Sergt. Majors of the several battalions and detachments are to be carefull that all their officers have the Reading the above orders.

Thursday, November 7th, Parole Washington, Co. Sign Lee. Friday, November 8th, Parole Magaw, Co. Sign Greene. Saturday, November 9th, Parole Cadwallader, Co. Sign Beatty. Sunday, November 10th, Parole Brunswick, Co. Sign Burlington."

Colonel Robert Magaw was the eldest son of William Magaw, a Scotch-Irish lawyer who came, prior to 1752, from Strabane, in the north of Ireland, to Maryland, and thence to Carlisle in Pennsylvania. He was born in Ireland, was a lawyer, married while a prisoner, Marritie Van Brunt of Flatbush, and died 6th January, 1790, at Carlisle, leaving a son and daughter. His regiment, 5th Pennsylvania, numbered 25 officers and 312 men when surrendered.—*Ms. Magaw Papers. Letter of Dr. Murray.*

Dodon Henry, Baron von Knyphausen, Lieutenant-General, born in Alsace in 1730, son of Baron von Knypshausen, a Colonel under Marlborough, and was a descendant of the great Holland General of Gustavus Adolphus, whose name he bore. Tall, spare in person, very German in appearance, he was, though a strict officer, popular with both officers and men. He died in Berlin, in 1794, a full General in the Prussian service.—*Watson's Philadelphia Biographie Universelle.*

Parade of the Prisoners.—"The prisoners taken at Mount Washington were all paraded near the Jew's Burying Ground (now Chatham Square). They were said to be 2,500; no insults were offered to them when paraded, nor any public huzzaing or rejoicing as was usual on similar and less occasions."—*Ms. letter of John McKesson to Geo. Clinton.*

PROPER NAMES OF CALIFORNIA INDIANS.—The proper names of many Central California tribes originated in their geographical position in regard to other tribes, and hence include the names of cardinal points of the compass: North or East, South or West. The same holds good for many Indian tribes of other countries, especially for those which inhabit Oregon. The Modocs for instance, whose *priscan habitat* was the elevated valley of Lost River, south of the actual limits of the Klamath Reserve, are called in their own language, and in that of the kindred Klamath Lake Indians: Móadokni or Móatokni, which means "Southern dwellers," or "men living to the South." Another form of the name is Móadokish or, with the definite article appended: Moadokishash. In the Klamath-Modoc language moat, muat, means *South*; muatata, southwards; muatni, coming from the South; mua, muat, South wind; Moatok, Modoc Lake. Thus the Modocs were distinguished from their congeners, the Klamath-Lakes, or E-ukshikni, as the "Southerners" from the Lake or marsh dwellers. The *priscan* home of these latter were, from time immemorial, the shores of the upper Lake: e-ush, and

the environs of the Klamath marsh, which is situated some twenty miles northeast of the northern end of Upper Klamath Lake. The Klamath marsh is called é-ua, which is the generic term for "standing water, marsh, pond, lake," and through the suffixation of the definite article becomes e-ush. This term takes to itself the ending -kni which forms *nomina gentilitia* or tribal appellations, and appears also in Yamakni, the name given to all Oregonians, but more particularly to the Cayuses. It is derived from yamat, "North," which also forms the following derivatives: yamatata, northwards; yamash, north wind; yamatni, coming from the north; from the latter word Yamakni differs only in one letter, and its meaning is: belonging to the north, living in the north.

It is well known, that the Umpqua or Umpkua River, was formerly called so only in its upper course. We can trace the origin of this name to the Klamath language, which was spoken in the immediate neighborhood of Upper Umpqua Valley; for the Klamaths still call the Umpqua Indians: Ampkakni maklaks: "People of the little water." The name was formed from ampu, ambu, *water*, the diminutive terminal -aga, -aka, thus forming ampkaka; to this is joined the terminal -kni, designating a tribe or nation.

For the Lahaptin tribe of the Warm Spring Indians in Des Chutes Valley the Klamaths possess two names ending in -kni: Waitankni and Lokuastkni. Of these the latter is more commonly used and is explained by the Klamath word lokuash "hot," meaning thermal waters of high temperature.

I conclude this brief notice by giving a parallel to Modokni in the Klamath-Modoe term for the Pit River nation: Moatuash. This also means "Southerners," though another terminal (of adjectives) is appended here to the basis moat "south."

ALBERT S. GATSCHET.

SURRENDER OF THE NEW JERSEY PROPRIETORS.—On the 17th of April, 1702, Sir Thomas Lane, and William Dockwra, Esq.; with the rest of the Proprietors of the Provinces of East and West New Jersey, in *America*, presented to her Majesty in Council, an Instrument under their Hands and Seals, by virtue of which they surrender'd their Rights to the Government of those Provinces; which Her Majesty was Graciously pleas'd to accept of, assuring 'em at the same time, that their Properties should be entirely preserv'd, and the Government of those Colonies brought under a due Regulation by Her Majesty's taking them under her Special Care and Protection.—*The State of Europe, April, 1702.*

PETERSFIELD.

OLD FASHIONED WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN OHIO.—The ladies of Chillicothe, Ohio, celebrated the 4th of July in a manner honorable to their patriotism. Among the toasts drank by them, we notice the following:—"The Rights of Woman, innocence, modesty, and prudence, may she rest satisfied with these, without investigating any others. Modesty, may the men respect it, that it may be held in estimation by the women. *Matrimony*, venerable for its origin and antiquity, and eminently useful in pre-

serving morality and true liberty. *The Married Ladies*, may the domestic virtues engage their attention. *The Young Ladies*, may those of this class, between fifteen and fifty, be shortly struck off from the list of single girls. *Old Batchelors*, may love seize and punish them for their sacrifice of time, with as much happiness as they are able to bear, in the lawful possession of what they are pleas'd to call 'angel's of this world.'" —*The Weekly Visitor, August 11, 1804.*

W. K.

WASHINGTON AND HIS FUGITIVE SLAVE GIRL.—A very remarkable letter has been recently sold in London, written by Washington from Philadelphia, 28th November, 1796, to Joseph Whipple, concerning a slave girl who had absconded, and giving instructions as to her being sent back to Mrs. Washington. The following is an extract:

"However well disposed I might be to a gradual abolition, or even to an entire emancipation of that description of people (if the latter was in itself practicable) at this moment, it would neither be politic nor just to reward unfaithfulness with a premature preference, and thereby discontent beforehand the minds of all her fellow servants, who, by their steady attachment, are far more deserving than herself of favor."

This interesting document, which fills three full pages quarto, was priced at ten guineas, and purchased by an American collector; not the only one who tried to secure it.

PLUS.

GENERAL FRASER'S WIDOW.—John Charles Schrieber was plaintiff in a cause

tried July 4, 1780, before Lord Mansfield. Mrs. Fraser, widow of that experienced and gallant officer Gen. Fraser, who was killed in the action at Bræmus Heights on Hudson's river, October 7, 1777, was the defendant. Mr. Schrieber brought his action for damages on breach of a promise of marriage. The principal evidence was his son, he proved Mrs. Fraser's having acknowledged to him her consent to marry his father. A man servant proved her having hired him to go with her to Germany, in case the marriage took place. Mr. Christie proved Mr. Schrieber's purchasing a house at 4,100*l.* and selling it again on the marriage not taking place at 3,600*l.* He also bought four horses at 140 guineas, and sold them at 74 guineas; and two carriages at 200*l.* and a taylor proved making a suit of livery on account of the expected marriage.

The Solicitor-General argued for the defendant, that she had no objection to the plaintiff, who was a very wealthy merchant, but that in the course of courtship, she began to apprehend that Mr. Schrieber's temper, and her own, perhaps none of the best, might render them both unhappy, for which reason, she thought it best to retract though to her own loss, as his fortune was far superior to hers. *Her late husband, the General, had also cautioned her in a dream against the marriage.* That the plaintiff had not proved the defendant a woman of fortune; therefore it was much below him to wish to take from her small pittance to add to his own great abundance.

Here the Solicitor-General was stopped by Mr. Dunning, who proved that

Mrs. Fraser's fortune in England and in the East-Indies, was upwards of 24,000*l.* The Solicitor-General replied, that the fortune in the East Indies could not be ascertained, but his client had suffered most by breaking off the match, as she was to have the disposal of her own fortune, 300*l.* a year pin-money, 10,000*l.* settled upon her, with the house at Fourtree Hill, Enfield, or at her option 5,000*l.* instead of it; in all 15,000*l.* in case of her survival.

Lord Mansfield observed the promise was proved; that certainly either party had a right to retract before the ceremony, and even before the priest; that the plaintiff had proved some damages; and that it belonged to the jury to assess the quantum. The jury, after a few minutes consultation, gave in a verdict of 600*l.* damages, with costs.

Both parties in the above suit have since been married. Mrs. Frazer was married April 16th, 1781, at Edinburgh, to George Buchan Hepburn, Esq.; a gentleman said to be considerably younger than Mr. Schrieber; and in July, 1781, Mr. Schrieber was married to a young widow, Mrs. Harvey, of Holbeach, in Lincolnshire.—*Political Magazine*, II. 653. W. K.

MONTCALM'S RAZORS.—Mrs. Helen S. Peck Harding, a resident of Phelps, Ontario County, New York, has in her possession the razors used by General Montcalm and found in his baggage. The handles are of ivory, and the blades, three in number, of extremely fine steel, are so arranged as to fasten in a steel grooved back when in use.

CLEW GARNET.

CROMWELLS IN AMERICA.—It was stated by an English writer in 1787, that "at this day there is in being a branch of the Protector's family residing in the County of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, which went over to America at the Restoration. They still retain the Christian name of Oliver." PLUS.

THE SENECA FORT.—Referring to the article by Mr. George Geddes in the September number of the Magazine, on the French Invasion of the Onondagas, we extract, for the benefit of our readers interested in this local study now attracting so much attention, the following paragraph from Parkman's *Life of Frontenac* just published:

"The researches of Mr. O. H. Marshall of Buffalo, have left no reasonable doubt as to the scene of the battle and the site of the neighboring town. The Seneca ambuscade was on the marsh, and the hills immediately north and west of the present village of Victor, and their chief town called Gannagaro, by Denonville, was on the top of Boughton's Hill, about a mile-and-a-quarter distant. Immense quantities of Indian remains were formerly found here, and many are found to this day. Charred corn has been turned up in abundance by the plough, showing that the place was destroyed by fire. The remains of the fort burned by the French are still plainly visible on a hill, a mile-and-a-quarter from the ancient town. A plan of it will be found in Squier's *Aboriginal Monuments of New York*. The site of the three other Seneca towns destroyed by Denonville, and called Totiakton, Gannondata, and Gannongarae,

can also be identified. See Marshall in *Collections N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 2d Series, 11.

Indian traditions of historical events are usually almost worthless, but the old Seneca Chief, Dyu-ne-ho-ga-wah, or John Blacksmith, who was living a few years ago at the Tonawanda reservation, recounted to Mr. Marshall with remarkable accuracy the story of the battle, as handed down from his ancestors who lived at Gannagaro, close to the scene of action. Gannagaro was the Cenagorah of Wentworth. Greenalgh's *Journal*. The old Seneca, on being shown a map of the locality, placed his finger on the spot where the fight took place, and which was long known to the Senecas by the name of Dya-go-di-yu or 'The Place of a Battle.' It answers in a most perfect manner to the French contemporary descriptions."

Our readers will also be glad to learn that General John S. Clark of Auburn, is about to publish an illustrated volume containing the result of his investigations in the Mohawk Valley, by which he claims to have identified all the ancient castle sites concerning which there has been so much mystery.

EDITOR.

THE FAMILY OF BACHE.—In the November number of the Magazine in a sketch under this title the name of the mother of Theophylact and Richard Bache was given as Blyckenden. This we are assured by her great grand-son William Duane, Esq., of Philadelphia is incorrect. Her maiden name was Blechynden.

EDITOR.

QUERIES

A CURIOSITY OF THE AMERICAN PRESS.—Mackenzie, in his sketch of Upper Canada, makes the following statement: "I have now in my possession a newspaper, the paper for which was made at the Falls of Niagara; the first side composed and printed off by an American and an Irishman, at Lewiston, in the United States, on the south bank of St. Lawrence; and the second side set up and pressed off in Queenston, Upper Canada, on the northerly bank of that river. The number so printed was afterwards published and issued at York, north of Lake Ontario, and is probably the only newspaper sheet that was ever printed in two nations. In those days there was no duty on paper, no stamps, no security against libel beforehand; the press was free."

Can any of your readers furnish any further particulars of this curiosity of the American press? W. K.

SCHUYLER FAMILY.—What relation (if any) was there between Gen. Philip Schuyler of Revolutionary memory and Capt. Philip Schuyler who died at Schenectady on the 23d May, 1725, leaving a widow, Catharine Schuyler?

RIP VAN DAM.

RICHARD B. DAVIS.—The following obituary notice appeared in the newspapers of August, 1864:

"Died suddenly, at Brunswick, New Jersey, in the 63d year of his age, Mr. Richard Davis, formerly an auctioneer of New York city, and father to the late eccentric genius Richard B. Davis."

I desire information in regard to Richard B. Davis, and why he was termed an "eccentric genius?" TRENTON.

MRS. THEODOSIA BARRIFF.—A very interesting trial took place in the Court of King's Bench, London, April 17, 1802, where Mrs. Theodosia Barriff appeared as plaintiff; she is described in the report, as the widow of an officer who had served with reputation and bravery in the American war, and as the daughter of a distinguished American loyalist. What was her maiden name?

BLACKSTONE.

FREDERICK FRELINGHUYSEN OF NEW JERSEY.—What office and rank did Frederick Frelinghuysen of New Jersey hold at the battles of Trenton and Princeton? He was not in command of Eastern Co. of Artillery, for Daniel Neil, who was killed at Princeton, was made Captain, May 9, 1776. A. G.

REPLIES

WASHINGTON'S MASONIC PORTRAIT. (I. 451, 576.) I. C. is surely in error in stating that Williams' Masonic portrait of Washington was not taken from life. Such an inference *might* be drawn from G. W.'s letter about Williams in which he says he refused "to see him *again*." But the old records of Alexandria Lodge No. 22, of Alexandria, Va., show, under date of August 29, 1793, that Mr. Williams offered to present to the Lodge a portrait of Washington, "provided the Lodge make application to the President" for a sitting: and the Lodge prepared an address, signed by the officers, to be

immediately forwarded "to our illustrious Brother," the President of the United States. Did Washington, *who was a Past Master* of the Lodge, decline to sit to Williams? If he did the Alexandria Lodge has been, for eighty-four years, laboring under a marvellous delusion.

The same records for October 25, 1794, state that the portrait was received, and that fifty dollars were paid to Williams to cover his expenses in going to and returning from Philadelphia. The records also say that in November, 1794, Williams applied for "further Compensation." His application was laid over. In December, 1794, it was acted on, and the records say, "the Lodge consider the fifty dollars paid Mr. Williams a mere gratuity, *inasmuch as application was made to the President to sit for his portrait*, at the request of Mr. Williams, who proposed, *should the application be successful*, to compliment the lodge with his portrait." The Lodge therefore refused "further compensation." On the back of the portrait in William's handwriting is the following: "His Excellency, George Washington, Esquire, President of the United States, Aged 64. Williams, *Pinxit ad vivum*, in Philadelphia, September 18, 1794."

Your correspondent is again in error in his reply to my statement. His error doubtless arises from a misunderstanding of the President's reply to the Rev. Mr. Snyder, Sept. 25, 1798. Snyder wrote G. W. to use his influence to prevent the Illuminati "corrupting the brethren of the *English* Lodges over which you preside." The President in his reply expresses his desire "to cor-

rect an error you have run into of my presiding over *English* lodges in this country. The fact is I preside over none, nor have I been in one more than twice within the last thirty years." The reference here is, without doubt, to English Lodges holding Charters from the G. L. of Great Britain, of which there were then many, and not to American Lodges—for Washington did not only frequently enter American Lodges, but did preside over one.

The records of Alexandria Lodge No. 22, Va., May 29, 1788, state that having determined to seek a charter under the G. L. of Virginia, of which *Edmund Randolph* was Grand Master (having previously held charter from the G. L. of Penna.), "the Lodge proceeded to the appointment of a Master and Deputy Master to be recommended by the G. L. of Va., when George Washington, Esq., was unanimously chosen Master; Robt. McCrea Deputy Master, etc."

"Ordered that Bro's McCrea, Hunter, Allison and Powell wait on General Washington and enquire of him whether it will be agreeable to him to be named in the charter." His consent was certainly obtained, as the records of November 22, 1788, contain the letter to the G. L. of Va., the last paragraph of which says: "It is the earnest desire of the members of this Lodge, that our Brother George Washington, Esq., should be named in the charter as Master of the Lodge." Governor Randolph issued the charter, which is now in possession of the Lodge, appointing "our illustrious and well-beloved Brother George Washington, Esquire, late General and Com-

mander-in-Chief of the forces of the United States of America," Master of the Lodge. This subject is exhaustively considered in Sidney Hayden's work entitled "Washington and his Masonic Compeers." That Washington was truly interested in the order is proven beyond doubt by his correspondence published in that work, as well as by the fact which American historians have generally ignored, that in laying the corner stone of the present Capitol of the United States at Washington, Sept. 18, 1793, the President, clothed in the apron and other regalia of a Master Mason, marched in the procession at the post of honor, between Joseph Clark, Rt. W. G. M. Protem, and the W. M. of his own lodge, No. 22, Alexandria, and did himself lay the corner stone. Among the last public acts of his life was his attendance, by invitation, at a Masonic dinner, given by his own Lodge, April 4, 1797.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

BURGOYNE'S SWORD.—(I. 197.) The Catalogue of Flags, Trophies and Relics exhibited at the Metropolitan Fair has the following title: "No. 1006. Sword surrendered by Gen. Burgoyne to Gen. Gates, on the battle field of Saratoga, 1777. Exhibited by Miss Sophia Paff." This sword was presented at the close of the Fair to the N. Y. Historical Society, by the late William T. Blodgett.

At the late dedication of the battle monument at Schuylerville, Oct. 17, 1877, a circular was distributed containing the following announcement: "Relics of Burgoyne's Campaign and other Historic Mementos. Burgoyne's

Sword, Surrendered to General Gates, October 17, 1777. Gen. Schuyler's Sword. Gen. Gansevoort's Uniform. Also the entire collection of the late Samuel G. Eddy, which is offered for sale at \$2,000. Also a large number of other Relics. Tent East of Grand Stands. Admission, 10 cents."

The Editor of the *Saratoga Sentinel* describes these articles in his paper of October 25th, as follows, viz.:

"Burgoyne's sword was on exhibition in the relic tent at Schuylerville on Wednesday. It is owned by the Smith sisters of Hadley, Massachusetts, having been presented to their great grandfather by Burgoyne, on account of courtesies extended to him. The weapon is a light gentleman's dress sword, with an elegant silver hilt. The blade is straight, light and triangular instead of flat. The point is broken off and the edge is hacked, as though Burgoyne had used it in fencing with his gay companions. The blade is highly ornamented. The scabbard is light colored leather.

General Gansevoort's military coat and waist coat were on exhibition in the relic tent. The waistcoat is of brown silk, sleeveless, and as long as the ordinary sack coats of the present day. It is well preserved. The military coat is very roomy and long, of blue cloth, with red facings. It is cut away in front and resembles the military coats which are reproduced in pictures of revolutionary scenes. The sword of General Philip Schuyler was also on exhibition. It is long and curved like a cavalry sabre, and nearly as heavy. Its scabbard is of black leather, very well preserved."

There is a tradition that the widow of Gen. Gates presented Burgoyne's sword to one of her friends, and that it is still in existence at New York City.

Some of your readers can no doubt add to this list, as this relic is very much like the club that killed Capt. Cook, to be found in all well-regulated museums. As a matter of fact did not Gen. Burgoyne carry his sword to England? Lossing, in his *Field Book*, informs us that it was returned to him by Gates immediately on its surrender.

SARATOGA SPRINGS.

NOVEMBER PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Historical Society held its Regular Monthly Meeting on the evening of Tuesday, November 6, 1877, the President, Frederic de Peyster, LL. D. in the chair.

Among the members elected were the Hon. Morrison R. Waite, Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, President of the Chicago Historical Society.

The paper of the evening was then read by Douglass Campbell, Esq.; the subject "The Judicial and Constitutional History of the Colony of New York."

Mr. Campbell began by speaking of the vast mass of material existing for a history of the jurisprudence of the colony consisting of old records, here and in Albany. Much of the matter discovered in these records while valuable to lawyers would hardly interest a general audience. But one branch of the sub-

ject was of a different character; this was the development of the Constitution of New York. The constitution adopted in 1777 was emphatically a growth, and not a creation. Its provisions stand like monuments erected in honor of hard won victories extending back a century. Its history is important for the Constitution of the United States, and those of many of the new States are modelled after it.

Tracing the history of the colony in the Dutch times, under the Duke of York and then under the Crown, he showed that New York began the contest for colonial liberty. Here were fought out between 1700 and 1753 the great battles against the prerogative of the Crown. By their success the colony became substantially free. This great period has been almost ignored in history. It begins with the trial of Makemie in 1707, for violating the royal instructions, and ends with the suicide of Governor Osborne in 1753, who hung himself in despair at his inability to enforce the instructions of the Crown. Then parliament interfered and attempting to regain the ground lost by the governors produced the revolution. In this period also New York took the lead until the British cabinet in disgust shifted their attacks to Massachusetts in 1767. The address was interspersed with accounts of the famous state trials of the colony. At this close Mr. Campbell received the thanks of the Society.

The Reverend Dr. Osgood then read a memorial of the late John Earl Williams, long a member and friend of the Society which was accepted by resolution and ordered to be deposited in the archives. The Society then adjourned.

(Publishers of Historical works wishing Notices, will address the Editor with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

ARIZONA AS IT IS, OR THE COMING COUNTRY. Compiled from notes of travel during the years 1874, 1875 and 1876 by **HIRAM C. HODGE**. 16mo, pp. 273. **HURD & HUGHTON**, New York, 1877.

A well arranged and instructive account, of this young territory, compiled in grateful recollection of the restoration to health of the author in its mild, healthful and fine climate. Colonel Hodge spent three years in his exploration of this new country, and contributed (*passim*) communications on its various resources to the press of the United States. His book is commended with hearty praise by the Territorial authorities. His chapters treat of the climate, natural character, scenery, resources, agricultural and mineral, and of the flora and fish of this fertile and beautiful region, which the author declares to be the "coming country of the continent."

There is a practical chapter, on the treatment of the Indians on the Reservations, of timely interest now that our troops are pursuing a few revolted tribes at great cost and loss to the nation. Another of more rare interest invites the attention of explorers and societies devoted to archaeology, to the examination of the prehistoric remains of the great Gila valley, which is rich in implements of the Stone Age; ancient pottery glazed, unglazed and colored, and rocks painted in hieroglyphic characters. Here are plain vestiges of cities, ruins of houses of concrete of considerable size, and the evident remains of irrigating canals, the origin of which is beyond even Indian tradition. One of the canals is fifty feet wide with branches from it of twenty-five feet in width; one of the towns is many miles in length, and in its center are remains of a structure 350 by 150 feet in general measurement. We heartily commend this volume to our readers.

BEYOND THE SIERRAS, OR OBSERVATIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST, by **REV A. H. TEVIS**. 18mo, pp. 259. **J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co.**, Phila. 1877.

The Reverend author does not hesitate to declare the Pacific coast to be one of the greatest countries the sun ever shown upon; no doubt, he says, its features also are wonderful, but he expressly disclaims the least intention to induce any one to emigrate to it.

The returns of nature to the husbandman are almost incredible, but for the assertion of such a witness. Wheat has yielded one hundred and fifty bushels to the acre under exceptionable

circumstances, and a farm is mentioned near San Pablo where from 285 acres 23,000 bushels of barley were gathered; and no where in America is the harvest, owing to the freedom from dampness, more certain than in California.

The social life of the country is touched upon fairly but gently. No high tone of general sentiment is claimed, while immorality is asserted to be no more prevalent than it is in the eastern States. Eating and drinking are cardinal elements in the coast life; at this we are not surprised. Nature knows its own wants, and the stomach asserts itself according to its needs in all latitudes. The giant trees of the Yosemite valley are described and measurements given of the greater monsters. The "Heathen Chinee" has a chapter of his own. The author is of opinion that the morals of this race are lower here than at home; that the Chinaman is deteriorated by his intercourse with ourselves. This is not cheering. While the religious tone of California is not high in the author's opinion, her educational facilities are praised and her public and charitable institutions claimed to be second to none.

It seems like a dream to have seen the first vessel sailing for this El Dorado in 1848, and now within thirty years to be reviewing the history of an Empire.

DEVOIRS D'ÉCOLIERS AMÉRICAINS

RECUEILLIS À L'EXPOSITION DE PHILADELPHIE (1876), by **F. BUISSON**, President of the School Commission, delegated to Philadelphia by the Minister of Public Instruction, and translated by **A. LEGRAND**, with drawings and plans. 16mo, pp. 578. **HACHETTE & C^{ie}**, Paris. 1877. **F. W. CHRISTERN**, New York.

TASKS OF AMERICAN SCHOLARS COLLECTED AT THE PHILADELPHIA EXPOSITION, &c.

There is no precisely analogous term in English for the French "devoir," which is the reply by the scholar in writing to a task set by the Master, always a favorite mode of French teaching. This was followed at Philadelphia, where numerous collections of the actual work of scholars in various institutions throughout the Union were received, exhibited and published. As the preface happily states, "the volume is not a book on the schools of the United States, but a book written by the schools themselves," Mr. Legrand recommends the volume as equivalent to an inspection of the schools of the United States, conveying a perfect idea of their daily management, and many details upon the

school, family and even national life, valuable from their simplicity and frankness. The tasks of the Chinese scholars are characteristic and amusing.

ANNALS OF BUFFALO VALLEY, PENN-SYLVANIA, 1755-1855, collated by JOHN BLAIR LINN. 8vo, pp. 621. LANE S. HART, Harrisburg, Penn., 1877.

This is essentially a local history, as its title implies, but not the less interesting on that account. These studies of counties, townships and localities, from their very nature afford room for the record of a vast number of isolated facts of no great importance in themselves, but often affording clues to others of real significance; especially is this true of those places which have been directly connected with the history of early settlement and of the relations of the whites with the Indian natives of the soil. Mr. Linn takes up his story at the very beginning. It opens as usual with a tale of blood, another of the stories of white injustice and Indian retribution, the end of which is not yet nor for our generation. The Mahany Penn's Creek Massacre of 1755 does not much differ from others of the same character springing from identical causes. The Annals of Buffalo Valley open with the year 1768, a year celebrated for the beginning of a rapid development in all the colonies, a natural revival after the depression of the French war and Stamp Act period. The work is divided into Annual Sections, which give it something of the character of a Register, a form which does not allow of extended narrative, but is valuable in its ease of reference. It closes with an excellent index.

TRENTON, NEW YORK — ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT. CENTENNIAL ADDRESS delivered at Trenton, N. Y., July 4, 1876, by JOHN F. SEYMOUR. With Letters from Francis Adrian Van der Kemp, written in 1792, and other documents relating to the first settlement of Trenton and Central New York. 8vo, pp. 149. Utica, N. Y., 1877.

Another and one of the best of the addresses elicited by the timely suggestion of President Grant, that each town in the country should record its progress up to the date of the Centennial of the nation's birth as a landmark for future guidance. Mr. Seymour has not confined himself to his own views, but has made a most valuable contribution to the history of the State of New York in printing in full this interesting series of letters, written in 1792 by Mr. Van der Kemp, and giving an account of his journey from Kings-

ton to Lake Ontario on horseback and by canoe. The letters are written in a clear and pleasant style, full of the results of his observation of the natural beauties and capabilities of the country, and interspersed with sprightly descriptions of life in the woods. He is enthusiastic over the excellence of the Salmonidae of the Oneida tributaries and enraptured with the fatness and tenderness of the eel of the lake. Not always was this the traveler's diet. Occasionally the monotony of luxury was relieved with bear meat, or, as he terms it, "stewed slices of surly bruin," which he pronounces a dainty, and when fat suited to the "fastidious palate of polished New Yorkers." The bruin from whom the surly slices were "untimely ripped" was slain in a hand to hand fight by a blow from a tomahawk. Perhaps Van der Kemp had already been acclimated in his short intercourse with the Oneidas, and felt with the Iroquois "sweet is the flesh of a dead enemy."

Van der Kemp emigrated from Holland in 1778, first settling at Esopus and then on an island in Oneida Lake. He served the cause of history by translating for George Clinton the ancient Dutch records of the State; was later assistant justice of the County Court. But we advise our readers to enjoy these letters in full, not by such snatches as we have room for, and return to Mr. Seymour's address. We there learn the first settler of Trenton was Gerrit Boon of Holland, who pitched his tent in the forest in 1793, evolved a village from his consciousness, and determined that it should be called Older Barneveld for obvious reasons. Boon was the agent of the famous Holland Company, whose American factors were Le Roy, Bayard, McEvers, Lincklean, Ledyard, Ellicott and others, who held the title to the twenty-three thousand acres of the Servis patent, granted by Sir Henry Moore, Colonial Governor in 1768. There are other interesting original papers in the appendix to the address.

THE CAMPAIGN OF LIEUT.-GENERAL JOHN BURGoyNE, AND THE EXPEDITIONS OF LIEUT.-COL. BARRY ST. LEGER. By WILLIAM L. STONE. 12mo, pp. 461. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1877.

This work, by our well-known historian, is divided into two parts, as the title shows, and is completed with an extensive and valuable appendix, in which are to be found a great variety of details, personal and local, none of course very new, but grouped in an easy and profitable form. There are also several fine steel portraits, including Burgoyne, St. Leger, Schuyler, Gansevoort, Thayendanege, Lady Ackland and Baroness Reidesel, but none we observe of General Gates, though there is in existence an excellent engraving from Stuart's master-piece, the Gates portrait.

We have elsewhere placed on record our entire dissent from the one sided, narrow view taken of the part of General Gates in the famous campaign which, assumed by him at its most critical stage, he conducted by skill, foresight and with the precision of mechanism to its triumphant close. We shall not review this contest. From what we have seen of the Schuyler and Gates correspondence, and the judgment formed of their personal relations to each other, we should say that either of them would view with wonder their pictures as drawn by historians. We believe firmly in the organizing faculty, the unselfish devotion and ardent patriotism of Schuyler, and as firmly in the administrative ability, calm method and admirable military skill of Gates.

Of Arnold, the less said the better. In this campaign, whatever his merits in others, he neither displayed military skill nor manly virtues. His courage was crazy frenzy.

Mr. Stone is a pains-taking, industrious author, but his conclusions must be taken with several grains of allowance. We have heard it said that Schuyler should have worn Gates' laurels. It was not, we are willing to admit, his own fault that he did not. A combination of circumstances had destroyed his efficiency and made a change in the Northern Department an imperative necessity. *Schuyler himself admitted that necessity.* Gates it is claimed found the grain of glory ready for his reaping; however, no reaping operation was ever more scientifically performed. We believe that it has been left for Mr. Stone to assert that "the incapacity of Gates was manifest from the time of his assuming the command of the northern army until the surrender!" We need not add another word.

MAINE—HER PLACE IN HISTORY.
ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION, PHILADELPHIA, NOVEMBER 4, 1876, by JOSHUA L. CHAMBERLAIN. Published by order of the Legislature of Maine, February, 1877. 8vo, pp. 108. Augusta, 1877.

This interesting address is edited and published in a most creditable manner. It is illustrated with the Coast Survey chart of the soundings of the Gulf of Maine, and several maps. I. Of aboriginal America, showing the distribution and territorial limits of the Indian nations in the New World. II. Voyage and discovery, 986-1067, A. D., showing the course of the different voyages. III. Of the English grants, 1606-1732, A. D. IV is missing in the copy before us. V. The United States at the close of the Revolution; treaty of 1783. VI. The United States, 1877. VII. The territorial growth of the United States, 1780-1877, and lastly an outline map, showing the discoveries and early names of localities, with other valuable information.

The author asserts with no uncertain sound the

claim of Maine to priority of importance over her Plymouth neighbor, and tells us that "years before the Pilgrim set foot on Plymouth sands there were established English settlements at various points on the shores of Maine; that Pemaquid was a seat of trade and of government, and at one time the metropolis of all the region east of New York," and further that the Plymouth colony took its title and tenure from Maine, and the city of Georgiana, founded in 1641, the site of the present town of York, was the first incorporated city in America. Notwithstanding this and many other claims to high honor, General Chamberlain admits "that Maine has no history the dignity of which is conceded, and hardly a place among the recognized factors of the nation's destiny," and proposes reasons for this obscurity. We mourn the fact, and are glad that so strong hand is raised to reclaim for Maine some of the laurels her powerful neighbor has interwoven in her own chaplet. Passing from these considerations of the author, we find a concise account of the early discoveries, the priority in which he assigns to the Celts and Scandinavians, Irish chieftains having already taken possession of Iceland before the Northmen appeared there, 860, and we quote from the General's own words, Madoc, Prince of Wales, having large dealings with these western shores in 1170. To Champlain and Ferdinando Gorges is ascribed the glory of setting in motion the great powers that were to contend for the mastery of the New World. The beginning of the Popham colony and its disasters are narrated. Gorges, the Lord Palatine of the Maine Province, is Maine's cherished hero, and receives due justice in these pages. The conduct of Massachusetts to Maine is carefully and impartially handled. We find the reasons for the disposition of those neighboring colonies "who were wont to trot after the Bay Horse" to kick out of the traces. Mr. Chamberlain does not attempt to defend the intolerance of the stern old Commonwealth. The people sought the wilderness to live according to their own ideas, and they were willing that the world outside should do likewise, so long as they did not interfere with their ideas. The final pages describe the progress of Maine in industry and agriculture. He explains the reasons of many of her disappointments, and bids her people to look to husbandry as their true resource. We doubt whether in these days of easy rapid travel men will not prefer to farm that wondrous western soil, which is so generous to the tiller, in preference to the best of New England. Chief among her honors, the claim is made that Maine leads the sisterhood in the race for education. This may be true, but comparisons which do not take into account the emigration statistics of the Middle States are not of much value.

Maine has moral virtues, among which gratitude is not wanting, and this she owes to the

accomplished gentleman who has so well performed his allotted task and set his State right on the Centennial record.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LIVING

OLD MEN OF THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. In six volumes. By E. B. CRISMAN, D.D. Vol. I. 16mo, pp. 132. St. Louis, Missouri.

The reverend author announces his purpose in these biographical sketches to be to promote reading in his church, to afford examples of Christian piety in the lives he describes, and to preserve for the historian denominational history that might be otherwise lost. Biography is certainly a valuable adjunct to history, and supplies many a link to the chain of truth. Some of the subjects of these sketches were born in the last century. All Ministers or ruling elders, they have carried the doctrine of the Presbyterian church to extended sections of the United States. The names of Drs. Beard and Dillard of Tennessee, Bone of Alabama, McGee King of California, Pierson of Arkansas, and Means of Texas are familiar and well-known names in their several fields of labor. The sketches are simple and purely biographical.

UNE COLONIE FÉODALE EN AMÉRI-

QUE (L'Acadie, 1604-1700), par J. RAMEAU. 16mo. pp. 367. DIDIER & CIE, Paris, 1877.

A FEUDAL COLONY IN AMERICA. (ACADIA, 1604-1700.) For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

This volume is a valuable contribution to the history of Canada, a rich field which daily attracts new reapers. The colonization of Acadia or Nova Scotia, as the English have since named the peninsula, was effected under conditions different from those which we find in any other American settlement. The original grant in 1603 to the Sieur de Monts, was of exclusive privilege to trade along the coast as low as the fortieth degree. With the title of Vice Admiral he set sail from Havre de Grace in the spring of 1604. He built a fort on the island of St. Croix, passed the winter there with considerable suffering and loss of men, and in the spring was joined by the Sieur de Pont-Grave, from Honfleur, with recruits, and together the next year they founded Port Royal, which M. de Monts conveyed as a *fief* to the Sieur de Poitracourt, who begun the establishment of an agricultural colony. This was the first of the feudal tenures, of which numbers still remain in Canada. The post of Port Royal passed in 1632 into the hands of a new French colony of forty families, led thither by M. M. de Razilly and d'Aulnay. In 1710,

when Acadia fell into English hands, the population of the parish reached 2,000 souls; in 1750, left undisturbed by their English conquerors, without new additions from Europe, it had risen to 4,000. This increase alarmed the English. The French villages were surrounded by the New England militia in 1775, and a barbarous *deportation*, familiar through Longfellow's beautiful pastoral, carried off 10,000 of this simple, agricultural people. Later some of these returned from their forced emigration, not exceeding 2,500 in all, from whom is descended the French population which in 1871 was counted at 87,740 souls. We will not follow the account of the feudal attributes of this early colony, which the author describes with evident affection. His views are not of to-day, but we dissent again as before from the opinion expressed that the semi-feudal colonization of the French could ever have kept pace with the individual and restless activity of their English neighbors. What the result might have been had the French seized the middle country instead of occupying bays and rivers which were always ice-bound in winter it is useless to enquire. The secret of their failure may have been in this want of practical common-sense. But we question the taste of M. Rameau in calling Franklin "a mortal and hypocritical enemy of the French name," when he ascribes to him extreme clear-sightedness in his famous declaration of 1755, that "until Canada was conquered there would be neither peace nor repose for the thirteen colonies." Surely there was no *hypocrisy* in this declaration. The English reader will smile at the author's opinion that the reunion of Canada to France after the American revolution would have been the destruction of the United States. This is "chauvinism" pure and simple.

BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER. AN ORATION DELIVERED ON THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EVENT, OCTOBER 17, 1877, AT SCHUYLerville, N. Y., by GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 8vo, pp. 27. BAKER & GODWIN, New York, 1877.

Everything that comes from the pen of this scholarly and accomplished gentleman is worthy of perusal. This was in every sense an oration, and was eminently suited to the patriotic occasion, which will be long remembered as the historic ground of old Saratoga. Our readers will not expect to find calm historic treatment in the warm passages which were met with applause by the hearers. Mr. Curtis has accepted the current popular traditions and woven them into the pageant he has drawn with his usual consummate and dramatic skill.

THE BURGOWNE CAMPAIGN. BEMIS' HEIGHTS, SEPT. 19 AND OCT. 12th. HAUVER ISLAND AND ITS FORTIFICATIONS, by H. C. MAINE, A. M. Illustrated with pen drawings by BRUHLAND. 8vo, pp. 51. Troy Whig Pub. Co., Troy, 1877.

This is a curious little addition to the history of the famous campaign of 1777, which originated, as its author informs us, in a desire to search out and record the history of the occupation by the Americans of Hauver and Van Schaick's Islands, at the sprouts of the Mohawk. The illustrations are by the photo-electrotype process, which is quite satisfactory for the style of illustration such a pamphlet needs. The curious will find sketches of cannon and howitzers, coats of arms and other relics, which come out very well, while the portraits are below mediocrity.

There are some statements which at this season should not be allowed to pass unrefuted. Of these is the assertion that Gates in his report of the action of the 12th, "*barely mentioned Arnold and Morgan.*" On the contrary, notwithstanding the insubordination and insolence of Arnold, Gates magnanimously mentioned his gallantry and wound, and gave special praise to Morgan's riflemen and Dearborn's light infantry.

REPORT OF THE NEW JERSEY COM-

MISSIONERS OF THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION, printed by authority. 8vo, pp. 423. Trenton, N. J., 1877.

An admirably arranged and well printed volume, being the official report of the showing of New Jersey at the great American Fair. New Jersey took early part in sympathy and aid of her neighbor, the legislature voting one hundred thousand dollars to be invested in Centennial stock. The State Commission raised and disbursed \$22,763.73 in addition for the New Jersey Hall. The number of exhibitors from the State was 502, represented by 32,816 articles, and displayed at a cost of \$188,013. It is to be regretted that the other States have not been as thorough in their reports. The volume contains an account of exhibits and of the awards of merit assigned.

PANOLA; A TALE OF LOUISIANA. BY

Mrs. SARAH N. DORSEY. 16mo, pp. 261. T. B. PETERSON & BRO., Philadelphia, 1877.

The reader will find in this romance, which is of the sensational class, some interesting sketches of life in the Southwest just prior to the breaking out of the civil war. There is an excellent field for observation and drawing of character in the mixed races, the Mulatto, and

Indian half-breeds, of part white and of part negro parentage. Some of these are well treated here, and the authoress shows her knowledge of their peculiar natures. Panola, the heroine, is part Cherokee, part Dutch. Natika, her rival, part Greek, part French. "Much married Liz-bette," who had buried eight husbands [in oblivion], a French mulatto. In the chapter named after her are some nice appreciations of the *morale* of the mulatto race. Mrs. Dorsey assigns to them the passions and appetites of the African, with the astuteness and viciousness of the white race. This is more true of the amalgamation with the Saxon than the French; the latter type has much more amenity and is much truer in its attachments and ties, particularly those formed with the white race.

THE EARTH AS MODIFIED BY HUMAN ACTION. A NEW EDITION OF MAN AND NATURE. By GEORGE P. MARSH. A new and revised edition. 16mo, pp. 674. SCRIBNER, ARMSTRONG & CO., New York, 1877.

These profound researches, philosophic deductions and ingenious speculations by analogic process, as to the future physical condition of the globe under the treatment it is experiencing at the hands of mankind, are too famous to require any more than a passing mention. They will always remain an authority on this curious subject. The final chapter "on the great Physical changes proposed to be accomplished by the art of man," to use the author's words, is that which is most valuable to the general reader. The recent famine in India, ascribed to the neglect of the British Government to carry on the ancient works of irrigation, which made its plains fertile, and is an apt illustration of one of Mr. Marsh's theories. The completion of the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez, which received his approbation when he wrote his work in 1863, demonstrates the practical correctness of his judgment. The index to this volume is admirable in arrangement and detail.

THE WORKS OF EDGAR ALLAN POE.

In four volumes. 12mo. W. J. WIDDLETON, New York, 1876.

THE LIFE AND POEMS OF EDGAR ALLEN POE. A new memoir by E. L. DIDIER and additional poems. 12mo, pp. 305. W. J. WIDDLETON, New York, 1877.

Mr. Widdleton has done literature a service in putting in a compact form the works of this eccentric and talented author. Mr. Ingram, in his memoir to the four volume edition, first called attention to the injustice done to Poe by Dr.

Griswold; Mr. Didier has taken the same more generous view of his character, and prints a long introductory letter by Sarah Helen Whitman, Poe's most consistent defender. That his life was one of miserable self-indulgence, in which his intervals of self-control were also miserable because of the wretchedness he brought upon those who loved him, is too well known to be kept secret. His poems, most strongly marked by individuality, are evidences of his deformed mental and moral condition.

"THE DOLLAR OF OUR FATHERS"—

MOVEMENT OF SILVER. Speech of SAMUEL B. RUGGLES, Chairman of the Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce on International Coinage before the Convention of the American Bankers' Association, held in the City of New York, September 13, 1877. Published for the information of the Chamber. With Supplemental Historical Notes. 8vo, pp. 16. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, New York, 1877.

An extremely valuable paper from the best authority in this country on this and kindred subjects. Its purpose is to throw light upon the silver question, which is now the one important subject in national discussion. The great perturbations in the value of this metal have attracted general attention, while the proposal to make a metal of such fluctuating value a legal tender has aroused an alarm as general. The probable necessity of great public works of irrigation in India, which will require the use of large amounts of silver coin, introduces a new and important element into this problem, on which our national prosperity may for a long time depend. The United States can supply the silver if the English will be our factors in its distribution. The interest of both countries is in a common accord. This pamphlet of Mr. Ruggles is the last of the contributions of his broad and prophetic mind to a branch of science which, simple in itself, has been muddled by the absurd theories of those who confuse finance with banking, and subordinate all other interests to the privilege of issuing currency.

THE HISTORICAL SUCCESSION OF MONETARY METALLIC STANDARDS. Reviewed by ROBERT MOXON TOPPAN, of New York, in a letter to the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York on International Coinage, printed for the use of the Chamber. 8vo, pp. 18. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, 1877.

A concise and comprehensive view of the leading

facts presented in the monetary systems of Asia, Europe and America in a period extending over twenty-five hundred years. At the very outset we find the interesting statement that as far as researches have been made the three metals have never been of equal value, but preferred as now, in the order of gold, silver and copper. The superiority of gold is thus established by the common consent of men, and in all ages. The investigation then shows to us how gold has gradually asserted that superiority and become the sole unit of value. Gold was the standard in Asia Minor from 800 B. C. for four centuries; silver, auxiliary. Silver was the sole standard in Greece for a long period; gold came in with the conquest of Persia; a double standard prevailed under the successors of Alexander, while gold became the sole standard of the Roman Empire.

The history of Europe since the Middle Ages is a repetition of what preceded the breaking up of western civilization—a gradual progress towards gold as a single standard. These are interesting facts. We also notice the statement that the decimal system prevails over nearly the whole civilized world except Great Britain, which as usual stands in the way of all progress that does not originate with herself, while Germany, in her hatred of France, resists with equal pertinacity the adoption of the admirable units and subdivisions which prevail in France.

HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS OF POP-

ULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM 1790 TO 1870. By EDWARD JARVIS, M. D., President of the American Statistical Association. 8vo, pp. 16. BAIRD, CLAPP & SON, Boston, 1877.

This pamphlet was prepared for the eighth session of the International Statistical Congress held at St. Petersburg in 1872. The preparation of such tables is a thankless task, but they are of great value for philosophic deductions, and their authors deserve the thanks of the public.

CENTENNIAL OFFERING. REPUBLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES AND ACTS OF THE REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. Dedicated to the young men of the United States fifty-four years ago by the late HEZEKIAH NILES, editor of the Weekly Register. 8vo, pp. 522. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York, Chicago and New Orleans, 1876.

The name of Hezekiah Niles will always be affectionately remembered by students of American history for his invaluable *Register*, which noted the daily occurrences of interest in the United States for a period of a half century. A correspondence in that periodical in 1816 suggested

the compilation of this volume, which was issued at Baltimore in 1822 in an edition which was rapidly exhausted, and has lately become so rare that a new edition was called for by many of our most distinguished statesmen and citizens. In pursuance of their request Mr. Samuel V. Niles, grandson of the original compiler, prepared the present volume for the press, thoroughly revising and classifying the contents under the respective colonies and in chronological order, with a good index.

CARICATURE AND OTHER COMIC ART IN ALL TIMES AND MANY LANDS. By JAMES PARTON. With 203 Illustrations. 4to, pp. 340. HARPER & BROTHER, New York, 1877.

In this volume are gathered together a series of articles, prepared by this popular and entertaining author for *Harpers' Monthly Magazine*, with numerous additions of original matter. It is an elegant table book of an amusing and instructive character; superbly printed and profusely illustrated in a most creditable manner. Mr. Parton's selections include all that is known of pictorial caricature, from Ancient Egypt to the present time, related in the gay and sparkling manner for which he is so celebrated.

American caricature closes the volume. Mr. Parton considers Benjamin Franklin to have been the earliest American caricaturist, and traces the history of the art in this country from him to our day, which offers so many examples of the power of the crayon upon public opinion.

The Messrs. Harper appear to have spared no expense in the manufacture of this volume. Mr. Parton especially acknowledges their "extraordinary liberality" in this connection. The volume is certain to take an instant hold on popular favor, and to become the text book on this subject in America.

THE UNITED STATES AS A NATION. LECTURES ON THE CENTENNIAL OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE GIVEN AT BERLIN, DRESDEN, FLORENCE, PARIS, AND LONDON. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D.D., LL. D. 8vo, pp. 323. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston, 1877.

The United States might have searched in vain for a better representative of its thought, feeling and culture than the eloquent divine to whom we owe these pages. They greatly served to correct the deliberate misrepresentations made even by Americans concerning the condition of public and private morals in this country, and to show to European nations that there are still some who value their birth-right. These lectures—six in number—covering the history of the progress of

the country in the century since the declaration of independence, were received with remarkable favor by large audiences in Berlin, Florence, Paris and London. The volume is published with the usual good taste of the Osgoods.

ADRIFT IN THE ICE FIELDS. BY CAPTAIN CHARLES W. HALL. Illustrated 12mo, pp. 326. LEE & SHEPARD, Boston, 1877.

This little volume, in a form pleasing to youth, presents a picture of the hardy population which inhabit the margins of the great Gulf of St. Lawrence. Books of this character, like Cooper's Littlepage series, have an historical value in their faithful portrayal of manners and customs.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. MEMOIR OF THE HON. JOHN H. CLIFFORD, LL. D. By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. 8vo, pp. 30. Boston, 1877.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF EDMUND QUINCY AND JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY. 8vo, pp. 30. Boston, 1877.

It is the custom of this venerable institution to notice in an appropriate manner the deaths of their fellows. Mr. Winthrop, President of the Society, pays a graceful tribute to the memory of Governor Clifford of the old Commonwealth, and of Mr. Edmund Quincy, the late Recording Secretary of the Society. The merits of Mr. Motley as a historian received the highest praise from his associates, Messrs. Winthrop, James Russell Lowell, Amory, Dr. Holmes and others. His diplomatic career, which has been the subject of so much debate of late, was not discussed.

LIFE AND LETTERS OF GEORGE CABOT. By HENRY CABOT LODGE. 8vo, pp. 615. LITTLE, BROWN & Co., Boston, 1877.

This elaborate volume furnishes valuable material to the student of the history of the Federal period of our history. It is full of original letters of an interesting character, which throw light on the politics of the day. Mr. Cabot was Senator from Massachusetts and a thorough Federalist, and his life is here presented by his grandson from that standpoint.

It is admirably printed and well indexed.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, No. 259, NOVEMBER - DECEMBER, 1877. 8vo. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co., Boston.

We receive this volume from the editor with the notice that the office of our standard Review has been transferred to the city of New York,

and that it will be hereafter published by Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. Under its new direction it promises to maintain its character and largely extend its influence. In the present number we find articles relating to American history from Parkman, Charles Gayarré, and Charles Lindsey of Toronto, and a collection of opinions on the subject of the Resumption of specie payments.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. VOL.

IV, No. 6. NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1877. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York and Boston.

This Review maintains its popularity. The articles relating to America are upon the Currency Question, Judicial Partisanship, a review of Dr. Mahan's volume on the Civil War and an essay on Motley's Appeal to History by the Hon. John Jay.

AN HISTORICAL PAPER RELATING TO

SANTA CRUZ, CALIFORNIA, prepared in pursuance of the resolutions of Congress for the National Centennial Celebration, July 4, 1876, at the request of the Common Council of Santa Cruz. By S. H. WILLEY, D.D. 8vo, pp. 37. A. L. BANCROFT & Co., San Francisco, 1876.

In this pamphlet we find the history of Santa Cruz traced from its discovery, through the periods of exploration, of the Missions, of colonization and of industries. Santa Cruz was incorporated a city in March, 1876, and has a population of from five to six thousand inhabitants. Dr. Willey tells us that it is the oldest city on the Mexican coast, its discovery antedating that of Monterey twenty-four years.

THE LIFE, CAMPAIGNS AND PUBLIC

SERVICES OF GENERAL MCCLELLAN (GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN), THE HERO OF WESTERN VIRGINIA! SOUTH MOUNTAIN! AND ANTIETAM. 16mo. T. B. PETERSON & BROTHERS, Philadelphia.

This appears to be a reprint of the *Campaign* volume published in 1864. There is nothing in it that requires any special mention at this moment. We merely note its re-publication.

THE NARRATIVE OF A BLOCKADE

RUNNER. By J. WILKINSON, Captain in the late Confederate States Navy. 12mo, pp. 252. SHELDON & Co., New York, 1877.

The reader will naturally expect to find in a work of this nature, written by an actor in the

scenes he describes, a one-sided view of this subject. The profession of blockade running was certainly full of interest and excitement, but it was not lucrative. Sooner or later nearly every one of the craft fell into the hands of the United States cruisers, and we believe we are not wrong in stating that every one of the English merchants engaged in this unfriendly business was ruined before the close of the war.

BIOGRAFIA DE HOMBRES NOTABLES

DE HISPANO-AMERICA. Biography of Distinguished Men of Spanish America.

Under this title Señor Ramon Azpurú, we learn from Caraccas, has lately published an interesting work, which serves to complete the monumental work, "*Documentos para la vida publica del Libertador*." By this name every one will recognize the Father of his country, the Liberator Simon Bolivar.

The volume, according to its "announcement," begins the collection of lives of the illustrious men who have figured on the South American Continent since the year 1810. Commencing with that of Bolivar, it closes with a sketch of General Anzoategui. As this latter was one of the patriots of 1810, the work, although containing more than fifty biographies, has only commenced. There will be many volumes more if the promise of the collection be carried out so as to embrace in chronological order all the regions of the New World.

The second volume will contain biographies of Paez, de Higgins, Palacio, and other notables, who aided in the work of Spanish-American freedom.

MAP OF THE NORTH SEA AND LANDS

DELINEATED UPON A CHART IN THE 14TH CENTURY, by ANTONIO ZENO, and as printed at Venice in 1558 to accompany the Narrative of the Northern Voyages of the Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno to Iceland, Greenland, Spitzenberg, Franz Joseph Land, etc., etc., 1380 and after. Fac-simile—reduced size, by the photo-electrotype process. GEORGE EDWIN EMERY, Lynn, Mass., 1877.

BODY OF THE ZENI MAP OF THE

NORTH SEA, 1380, exhibiting an original identification of Frisland, Islanda, Crolandia, Podanda, Monaco, Icaria, Neome, Grislada and the Seven Islands (Mimant, etc.)—also the Islands of the Zeni Narrative and the Lost Colony of East Greenland. By GEORGE E. EMERY, Lynn, Mass., 1877.

MAP OF THE NORTH SEA AND LANDS

AS KNOWN IN POPULAR GEOGRAPHY, 1877, with an original identification of the Frisland, Islanda, St. Thomas, Podanda and Duilo of the Zeni Map and Voyages, 1830, together with the true locality of the Last East Greenland Colony; also the Hvidserk, Blaaserk, North Bottome, Furderstranda and Western Sea of the Icelandic Sagas, etc., as located from historical investigations, by GEORGE E. EMERY, Lynn, Mass., 1877.

We invite the attention of our geographers to the last of the series, which presents a view of Mr. Emery's investigations.

LE GLAÇON DU POLARIS AVENTURES

DU CAPITAINE TYSON RACONTÉES D'APRÈS LES PUBLICATIONS AMÉRICAINES, par M. W. DE FONVIELLE, contenant une carte. 16mo, pp. 302. HACHETTE & CIE., Paris. F. W. CHRISTERN, New York. 1877.

This is a pleasing and instructive abstract of "Arctic Experiences and Captain Tyson's Adventures" published by Harper Bros. in 1874, and of the Government report of the "Narrative of the North Polar Expedition U. S. Ship *Polaris*," of which we gave a notice in a late number.

THE STORY OF A HESSIAN. A TALE

OF THE REVOLUTION IN NEW JERSEY. By LUCY ELLEN GUERNSEY. 12mo, pp. 181. American Sunday School Union, Philadelphia, 1877.

This interesting little story opens at the hunting lodge of Nonnenwald in the Thuringerwald in the fall of 1779 upon a woman in distress at the death of a son, while her husband is serving in the Hessian Contingent in America. The story of the soldier is not put together with much skill, and has less historic treatment than we anticipated, but it is worth noticing as showing the disposition of the day to use every form of narrative to convey moral lessons. In this the interest in centennial history suggests the form.

OUR NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION. AN ESSAY.

By JOHN C. HENDERSON, Jr. 16mo, pp. 131.

This essay is well worthy of perusal. It invites attention to popular education as the most important element in the character of a free people. We are not of those who believe that read-

ing and writing are the sum of human knowledge, though no doubt efficient helps to it, and hence do not hold to the theory that suffrage should depend upon these accomplishments. Perhaps, also, the measure of material progress may not always be found in this direction.

We are glad to notice the fair, dispassionate method of the essayist. No comparisons of the United States with foreign countries are yet in order. The large uneducated immigration must be always taken into account. The States cannot well be left to themselves to correct the inequalities resulting from the distribution of this large mass, and Mr. Henderson is naturally found to be warmly in favor of the recommendation of President Grant, that "the States shall be required to afford the opportunity of a good common school education to every child within their limits." In this we heartily concur.

MORMONISM UNVEILED; OR THE LIFE

AND CONFESSIONS OF THE LATE MORMON BISHOP JOHN D. LEE (written by himself), embracing a history of Mormonism from its inception down to the present time, with an Exposition of the Secret History, Signs, Symbols and Crimes of the Mormon Church. Also the True History of the Horrible Butchery known as the Mountain Meadows Massacre. 8vo, pp. 406. BRYAN, BRAND & CO., St. Louis, 1877.

In a preface to this volume the publishers inform us that this is the genuine *and only genuine* Life and Confessions of this atrocious scoundrel, who expiated his participation in the tragedy of Mountain Meadows, the 23d day of March, 1877, on the very spot where he murdered the inoffensive emigrants twenty years before. For the correctness of this information, reference is made to the U. S. Marshal of Utah Territory and other well known persons.

We wish this revelation may give a *coup de grace* to this revolting institution, and that punishment may fall on those leaders in iniquity who have as yet escaped.

A MEMORIAL OF FITZ GREENE HALLECK.

A description of the Dedication of the Monument erected to his memory at Guilford, Connecticut; and of the Proceedings connected with the Unveiling of the Poet's Statue in the Central Park, New York. Printed for the Committee. AMERMAN & WILSON, New York, 1877.

This is chiefly an account of the proceedings which took place in Central Park on the 15 May, 1877. We are alive to the claim of Halleck as a light and graceful poet, but we look in vain

through his works for any reason why a colossal statue in brass should be raised to him in Central Park. If such be the honors to mortals, what shall be the measure of the monuments we shall raise to the *immortals* when they leave us for the Walhalla?

DAVENPORT AND VICINITY IN THE WAR OF 1812. Written by published by W. CLEMENT PUTNAM. 8vo, pp. 10. Woodlawn, 1877.

An interesting sketch of the western campaign of 1814, the purpose of which was to establish a strong military post on the British and Indian frontier. The campaign resulted in a series of defeats, which the essayist ascribes to the fault of the commanders.

THE REV. SAMUEL PETERS, HIS DEFENDERS AND APOLOGISTS, with a Reply to the Churchman's Review of "the True Blue Laws of Connecticut," etc. By J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL. Reprinted from the Hartford *Daily Courant*. 8vo, pp. 26. Hartford, 1877.

We have already alluded to the lively dispute over the reprint of the Reverend Samuel Peters' History. This is Mr. Trumbull's argument, which will be found strong and pungent as well.

MS. NOTE ON THE CHURCH IN AMERICA. By WILLIAM WHITE, 1747-1836. Privately published by THOS. H. MONTGOMERY. New York. Easter Tide, 1877.

These are four pages of fac-simile of a Ms. found among the papers of the Reverend Bishop of Pennsylvania. It relates to a controversy which ended in the connection of the American Episcopal Church with the Church of England. There is also an excellent portrait, which will delight the hearts of collectors.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. No. 3 of Vol. I. Publication Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1877.

We have here in due season an unusually interesting number, the contents of which are too numerous for us to mention even by name. The Journal of William Black, Secretary of Commissioners to unite the Colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland in 1744, is continued as the leading article, and we also find some interesting notes on the Iroquois and Delaware Indians.

ROBERT MORRIS, THE FINANCIER OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. A Sketch. By CHARLES HENRY HART. (Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*.) Philadelphia, 1877.

We notice this article from the last number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* to call attention to the *Nota Bene* of Mr. Hart, that he has in preparation a life of Robert Morris, in two volumes, royal octavo, for the completion of which he invites copies of such autograph letters as may be in the hands of collectors throughout the country. We take pleasure in seconding the request of this painstaking and accomplished student.

THE LIFE OF EDGAR ALLAN POE.

By WILLIAM F. GILL. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 315. C. T. DILLINGHAM, New York, 1877.

This is still another effort to redeem the reputation of this eccentric, brilliant and most individual genius from the general impression the world has of him. It is one of the privileges of genius to be the "point de mire" of criticism. Mr. Gill uses sharp edged tools in his literary work.

MONTCALM ET LE CANADA FRANCAIS. ESSAI HISTORIQUE, par CHARLES DE BONNECHOSE. Avec un Portrait et deux cartes. HACHETTE, Paris, 1877. 12mo, pp. 208. For sale by F. W. CHRISTERN, New York.

Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, was born February 28th, 1712, in the *Château de Candiac*, near Nîmes, of an old family that had done much military service. Entering the army at the early age of fourteen, his first campaign was made under the old Maréchal de Berwick. He served afterwards in Bohemia and Italy. He was wounded by five sabre cuts before Piacenza in 1746 while commanding the regiment of Auxerrois-infanterie, where the French were defeated. He married a grand-niece of Talon, founder of the Royal Administration in Canada, and had ten children, of which six were alive in 1752. In 1756 he sailed on the frigate *Licorne* from Brest as chief commander of the French troops sent to Canada, a much coveted appointment. His aid-de-camp, twenty-seven years old, was the afterwards celebrated Bougainville. On another frigate of the convoy was the Chevalier de Lévis, successor to Montcalm, and later Maréchal de France. The newly published History of New France by Charlevoix was carefully studied by the leader and his staff, who landed at Quebec on the 13th of May. 3,800 men came

over at this time, and 1,500 more the year following. Of these 2,200 were left at the end of five years. Montcalm's brilliant attack and capture of Fort Oswego or Chouaguén followed shortly after his arrival, and then his attempt to seize Fort William Henry in the winter, which he made a success during the next summer. It was on the retreat from this place that the massacre was said to have occurred, which Fenimore Cooper in his *Last of the Mohicans* exaggerated, or rather invented, for it appears that no one was hurt excepting some French soldiers who quelled the tumult.

The author then describes Montcalm's difficult position after the abdication of the Governor, M. de Saudreuil, into the hands of François Bigot. In 1758 he repulses the English under Abercrombie from Fort Carillon, afterwards rebuilt as Ticonderoga. Montcalm then desired to be recalled, and sent home Louis Bougainville, his aid, to make a report to the Ministry on the desperate condition of the Province. This was the elder Bougainville, who when Vice Admiral added some notes and an Itinerary from Fort Chouguen (Oswego) to Schenectady to a French translation of Alex. Mackenzie's travels by Castéra, which appeared in 1802. The close of the year 1758 brought the bad news of the loss of Fort Duquesne, and the winter was a very anxious one to the French. Bougainville returned with information to hold Canada at all hazards. The result is well known, and is well told by the author. An appendix contains papers relating to the posthumous honors rendered to Montcalm, to the monument erected at Quebec, on which is a statue presented by Prince Napoleon, and dedicated October 19th, 1862. It has also the terms of capitulation, signed at Montreal, September 8th, 1760, and a geographical description of Canada by the Abbé Holmes.

The work is a brilliant and apparently correct sketch of the young French General, whose life closed simultaneously with that of Wolfe, when Canada became the prize of the British. Some mis-spelling of Indians names may be overlooked.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHY,
OR A HANDY BOOK ABOUT BOOKS. By JOSEPH SABIN, author of "A Dictionary of Books Relating to America." SABIN & SONS, New York, 1877.

Those who know anything about this author's Dictionary will not be surprised to find one speaking in very strong terms in commendation of the present work, a practical acquaintance with which is needed. It is the work of a man who regards books with a kind of personal affection, and who knows everything about the subject treated that a life-time of enthusiastic study generally affords. The author does not claim to

have exhausted the department of Bibliography, yet he has done his work so honestly and thoroughly that no one will need to take the matter in hand again for many years. No work of any great importance appears to have been left out; though Mr. Sabin frankly confesses the truth that a complete Bibliography of Bibliography is beyond any one man's capacity. To read the book is in a sense an education, while the bibliomaniac will be charmed with the recollection of the splendid tournaments upon his chosen field which some of the titles bring to mind. The man who buys and uses this book will do justice to himself as well as to the author.

MEMORIALS OF THE DISCOVERY AND EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE BERMUDAS OR SOMERS ISLAND, 1515-1685. Compiled from the Colonial Records and other original sources by Major-General J. N. LEFROY, R. A., C. B. F. R. S., Honorary Member of the New York Historical Society—some time Governor of the Bermudas. Vol. I, 1515-1652, with map. 8vo, pp. 772. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., London, 1877.

This will be found a volume of extreme historic value. It is printed and published in admirable form, the entire cost being defrayed by the Colonial Government. The accomplished author has fully carried out the promise of thoroughness made in his preface, and has enlivened the dry pages of mere historic record with many curious details of the life and manners of this colony in the seventeenth century. General Lefroy claims that there is no British colony of that century the records of whose social life are so full, or whose history dates from so early a settlement. This settlement originated we are told in erroneous and delusive expectations, and was embarrassed by the attempted monopoly of the first proprietors. The storm which wrecked the ship which carried Sir George Somers and his companions is held by the General to have suggested, as Malone considered, the title of "The Tempest," but he warily avoids committing himself as to whether the island was or was not the "still vexed Bermoothes" of the immortal bard who converted all things to his uses and made all things his own. The first chapter treats of the discovery (1515-1611) and the shipwrecks; the second of the colonization under the Verjernes Company, 1612-1615; the third of the Virginia Company, then follow the Governments of Butler, Bernard Wodehouse, Bell, Wood, Chaddocke Sayle, the triumvirate, Turner, Trimmingham and Fforster, which brings us to the Proclamation of the Commonwealth in 1652.

An appendix supplies ample local details and a chronological register of events. Two indexes, one of persons and one of subjects, complete this admirable volume.

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